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VOICES OF INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

VOICES OF INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

(VOICE OF EXTREMIST AND MILITANT NATIONALISM)

VOLUME III

(Book 2)

Edited and Annotated by

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CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR WARNING PEOPLE NOT TO ASSOCIATE WITH TILAK

Special Department :
Poona, 26th June 1914.

The release of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and his return to Poona will make a considerable change in the political situation in the Presidency. Government desire that District Magistrates and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, should closely watch any developments that take place and keep Government informed of any movement that may be promoted for expressing sympathy with him or promoting his propaganda.

2. Until Tilak shows by overt acts that he has altered his views and intends to modify his propaganda, he must be looked upon as an enemy of the British Government, and people who associate themselves with him must be considered to be unfriendly.

3. Government have a right to expect that persons who enjoy any favour at their hands, should not associate themselves with Tilak in any way whatever. Special attention should be directed to the following classes of persons :— jaghirdars, inamdars, watandars, title holders, *Government servants* of all grades, Government pensioners and teachers and persons employed in or in connection with recognized educational institutions.

4. If anyone belonging to any of the above classes should pay a visit to Tilak, he should be warned, the attitude of Government as stated in paragraph 2 above being explained, and he should be informed that association with Tilak or repeated visit will be looked with grave dissatisfaction and will be marked by such punishments as Government may consider suitable in each case.

5. The action indicated in paragraph 4 above will be taken by the District Magistrates in the case of jaghirdars, inamdars, watandars, title holders, Government servants and Govern-

ment pensioners. When a District Magistrate takes action in the case of departmental employees not under his direct orders, he should inform the local head of the department of the fact.

6. The Director of Public Instruction will take action in the case of teachers and persons employed in or in connection with recognised educational institutions, either on information received from his own departmental officers or from the Secretary to Government, Special Department.

7. All cases of action under paragraph 4 should be immediately reported to Secretary, Special Department, for the information of Government.

8. The Director of Public Instruction should be requested to issue a circular to all Managers of recognised educational institutions informing them that students should not be allowed to associate themselves with Tilak in any way or to pay visits at his residence.

9. Attention is invited to the following Government Resolutions and Circulars which contain instructions on the subject noted against each :—

Circular No. 1316/12 Confl, dated 2nd March 1906 (General Department.	Attitude to be maintained by Government Servants towards political or quasi-political movements.
Circulars Nos. 4877/60 Confl. and 5632/70 Confl, dated 30th July and 14th September 1908 respectively. (General Department).	Warning to holders of titles or grants of land.
Government Resolution No. 2:96, dated 30th September 1908. (Educational Department).	Discipline in primary schools.

Government Resolution No. 2395, dated 30th September 1908. (Educational Department).	Discipline in schools and colleges.
Government Resolution No. 1570, dated 4th August 1909. (Educational Department).	Discipline in Government institutions.
Government Resolution No. 7438-91-Confl., dated 16th December 1908. (Gene- ment).	Participation in political movements by Government pensioners.
Government Resolution No. 2718-49-Confl, dated the 16th March 1909. (Rev. Department).	Attachment of inams or allowances.

The orders of Government contained in these documents remain in force and the instructions contained in this Circular should be regarded as supplementary to them.

L. Robertson,
Secretary to Government.

CONGRESS COMPROMISE*

Mrs. Annie Besant and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale have published their accounts, each from his own point of view, of the failure to bring about a United Congress at Madras. But there are gaps in either of these accounts ; and as I was the third party in the negotiations, I am obliged to point out where these accounts fail to give a connected version of the whole story.

Both Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gokhale have omitted to mention the important fact that it was understood on both sides that the success of the compromise depended not so

*Statement issued by Tilak in Poona on 12 February, 1915,

much upon Mr. Gokhale's willingness, but entirely upon the acceptance of the terms of the compromise by the Conventionist leaders in the city of Bombay. So all that we did in Poona was to discuss and provisionally settle what amendment in the Congress Constitution should be made, which, even if it did not come up to the marks, would make it possible for the Nationalists to join the Congress, and, secondly, what steps should be taken by the Provincial Congress Committee if the presence of the Nationalists was required at the Madras Congress sessions. I had already ascertained the views of the leading members of the Nationalist party on the subject, and further discussed and settled them at a small meeting of them at my house held on 29th November, when Mrs. Besant was, according to her first programme, to come here to visit Mr. Gokhale and myself. She, with Mr. Subba Rao, however, came a week later, and I then fully and freely explained the position of our party to both of them. Everything went on well so far : and no exception has been taken, in any of the accounts hitherto published, to the conversation I had with Mrs. Besant or Mr. Subba Rao up to this time.

The difficult task of winning over the Bombay City Conventionists was, however, now assigned to Mr. Subba Rao ; and I must say here that I never hoped that it would be attended with success, and the result fully justified my fears. Mr. Subba Rao, according to his own statement in *New India* of the 8th inst., found that the Bombay Conventionist leaders were dead opposed to the extension of the franchise to public meetings or to independent constituencies, and what is pertinent to the question in hand, that "great apprehension was felt" by these Conventionists "that the Congress would be running a great risk, if Mr. Tilak and his followers came in." This, as anybody will see, was the real cause of the compromise negotiation ; for, from what took place at Bankipore in 1912, it was not expected that Mr. Gokhale would, after this, continue to support the proposed amendment to the Constitution though it was as now published, drafted by him.

My conversation with Mr. Subba Rao, of which so much is made in Mr. Gokhale's statement, took place after Mr.

Subba Rao returned disappointed from Bombay. This was on the 8th December, and he must have told and discussed with Mr. Gokhale, (with whom he had put up) as he did with me that day, the attitude of the Bombay Conventionists with regard to the proposed amendment. When I went to see him the next morning he had at his own initiation reduced to writing the main point of our conversation, and reading them to me asked if I had any corrections to suggest. I suggested a few and he made them in his own hand ; and the statement remained with him. A true copy of the written statement is now published in the press.

Mr. Gokhale says that the written statement did not come into his hands till a week later. Well I have never questioned his word in this behalf. But he certainly knew that one was prepared on the 9th December. What he, however, did afterwards is undisputed. Relying, as hesays, upon oral report of my second conversation with Mr. Subba Rao, after his return from Bombay, Mr. Gokhale wrote a *confidential* letter to Babu Bhupendra in which Mr. Gokhale made certain charges against me, and said that he therefore withdrew his former support to Mrs. Besant's amendment. In reply Babu Bhupendra is said to have asked for a revised edition of this confidential letter in order that the same may be freely used. But before this second letter reached Babu Bhupendra, he had to show the first letter to some of his Bengali friends to justify his sudden change of front towards the question, for he too, till then, was in favour of the amendment. The confidential letter thus became public property and the effect produced by the disclosure of its contents was that I was believed to have advocated "boycott of Government," and therefore no compromise was either possible or expedient ; and, as a matter of fact, the Bombay Conventionist delegates and the Servants of India delegates jointly opposed the amendment for the same reason. Mrs. Besant, who moved the amendment in the Subjects Committee, felt embarrassed and telegraphed to me that "my opponents charged me with boycott of Government" and wished in reply to know what the truth was. I promptly replied that I had never advocated "boycott of Government" and that prominent Nationalists had served and were serving

in Municipal and Legislative Councils and that I had fully supported their action, both privately and publicly. When this telegraphic reply of mine was read in the Subjects Committee, Babu Bhupendra withdrew his words ; and Mrs. Besant's amendment, instead of being rejected, was referred to a committee for consideration.

This is the history of the failure of the compromise in brief. But though Babu Bhupendra has withdrawn the charge he made against me on the strength of Mr. Gokhale's confidential letter, Mr. Gokhale would not follow the same course and still persists in openly maintaining the charge against me relying (1) on the oral report of Mr. Subba Rao's conversation with me after the former's return from Bombay to Poona, and (2) on some detached extracts from the newspaper reports of my speech made eight years ago. In short, he pleads justification for the charge he made against me in his confidential letter and wants to throw the whole responsibility of the failure of the compromise on my shoulders.

Now as regards the oral reports of parts of my conversation with Mr. Subba Rao I must say that I do not accept them as correct ; and they have no value as against the written statement prepared by Mr. Subba Rao. As regards the charge of advocating the boycott of Government I have already repudiated it in plain terms. It is unfair to ask me to do anything more the confidential until letter in which the charge was first made is published. For I am entitled to know the whole of the case against me before I make any further reply. The contents of Mr. Gokhale's confidential letter were allowed to filter through Mr. Ba u down to the Subjects Committee and have done harm to me on my back, as also to the compromise. If Mr. Gokhale thinks that I am attributing bad faith to him, the way for him is quite clear and open. He never wanted my consent, though I am in ten minutes drive from his residence, when he wrote his confidential letter to Babu Bhupendra, and I fail to understand why he should now ask me to read the letter and ask him to publish it. I am not going to do anything of the kind, nor send to Mr. Gokhale an accredited agent of mine for the purpose. The initiative and the responsibility of sending the

letter to Mr. Basu was his, and so must be that of publishing it. It is for him to consider whether he does not owe it to himself and to me to publish both his letters, so that the public may, after my reply to them, form their own judgment In the matter.

HOME RULE*

When I was requested to deliver a lecture here today, I did not know what to lecture. I do not stand before you today in any way prepared for any particular subject. I had come for the Conference. Thinking that it would not be out of place if I were to say a few words to you about those subjects which were discussed during the past few days and about the object with which a Home Rule League was established here before the Congress, I have selected that subject for today's lecture.

What is *swarajya* ? Many have a misconception about this. Some donot understand this. Some understanding it, misrepresent it Some do not want it. Thus, there are many kinds of people. I am not prepared today to enter into any particular discussion of any sort beyond saying a few general words on the following among other points : What is *Swarajya* ? Why do we ask for it ? Are we fit for it or not ? In what manner must we make this demand for *swarajya* of those of whom we have to make it ? In what direction and on what lines are we to carry on the work which we have to carry on ? It is not the case that these general words which I am going to say are the outcome of my effort and exertion alone. The idea of *swarajya* is an old one. Of course when *swarajya* is spoken of, it shows that there is some kind of rule opposed to *swa*, *i.e.* ours and that this idea originates at that time. This is plain. When such a condition arrives, it begins to be thought that there should be *swarajya*, and men make exertions for that purpose. You are at present in that sort of condition. Those who are ruling over you do not belong to your religion, race or even country. The question whether this rule of the

*Speech delivered at Belgaum on 1 May, 1916 in a meeting held under the chairmanship of Dada Sahib Khaparde.

English Government is good or bad is one thing. The question of 'one's own' and 'alien' is quite another. Do not confuse the two at the outset. When the question 'alien,' or 'one's own ?' comes, we must say 'alien.' When the question 'good or bad ?' comes, we may say 'good,' or we may say 'bad.' If you say 'bad,' then what is the improvement that must be made in it ? —this question is different. If you say 'good' it must be seen what good there is under it which was not under the former rule. These are different points of view.........Formerly there were many kingdoms in our India—in some places there was Mohommadan rule, in some places there was Rajput rule, in some places there was Hindu rule and in some places there was Maratha rule—were these *swara jas* good or bad ? I again remind you that this is a question different from our theme. We shall consider it afterwards. All other rules being broken up, the universal sovereignty of the English Government has been established in India. Today we have not to consider the history of other's downfall. We have also not to consider how they fell. Nor am I going to speak about that. Let us turn to the present system of administration. Some able men who have been educated in England and have received college education there come to India and the State administration of India is carried on through them. 'Emperor' is a word. When you give a visible form to the sentiment which arises in your mind at the mention of the word *Raja i.e.*, King, there is the present Emperor. This sentiment itself is invisible. When a visible form is given to this invisible something there is the King the Emperor. But the Emperor does not carry on the administration. The question of *sw rajya* is not about the Emperor, nor about this invisible sentiment. This must be remembered at the outset. Let there be any country, it must have a King, it must have some men to carry on its management and there must be exercised some sort of rule in it. The case of anarchical nations is different. These nations can never rise. As in a house there must be some one to look to its management—when there is no man belonging to the house an outsider is brought in as a trustee—just so is the case also with a kingdom. In every country there is a certain body for carrying on its administration and there is some sort of arrangement. An analysis must be made of both these things,

viz., of this arrangement and this body and, as stated yesterday by the President (the President of the Provincial Conference,) of the sentiment of 'King.' There must be a king, there must be state administration. Both these propositions are true from the histroical point of view. Of a country where there is no order, where there is no king, that is, where there is no supervising body, the *Mahabharat* says : 'A wise man should not live even for a moment at that place. There is no knowing when at that place, our lives may be destroyed, when our wealth may be stolen, when our house may be dacoited, may be set on fire. There must be a government. I will not say at length what there was in the Kritayuga in ancient times. The people of that time did not require a King. Every one used to carry on business looking only to mutual good. Our Puranas say that there was once a condition when there was no king. But if we consider whether such a state existed in historical times. it will appear that such a condition did not exist. There must be some control or other. Control cannot be exercised always by all people assembling together at one place. Hence, sovereign authority is always divided into two parts : one the Advisory body, and the other executive body. The question about *swarajya* which has now arisen in India is not about the said invisible sentiment. The question is not about those who are to rule over us, (and) according to whose leadership, by whose order and under whose guidance, that rule is to be excercised. It is an undisputed fact that we should secure our own good under the rule of the English people themselves, under the supervision of the English nation, with the help of the English nation, through their sympathy, through their anxious care and through those high sentiments which they possess. And I have to say nothing about this (cheers). Note this first. Do not create confusion in your minds by confounding both the aspects. These two aspects are quite distinct. What we have to do we must do with the help of someone or another, since today we are in such a helpless condition. It is an undoubted fact that we must secure our good under protection. Had it not been for that, your independence would never have gone. If we take for granted that we have to bring about the dawn of our good with the help of the English Government and the British Empire, then

one more strange thing which some people see in this, will altogether disappear. To speak in other words there is no sedition in this. If then with the help of the English Government—if the words "invisible English Government" be used for the words 'English Government,' there would be no mistake—if with the help of this invisible English Government, with the aid of this invisible English Government, you are to bring about the dawn of your good fortune, then, what is it that you ask ? This second question arises. The answer to it, again, lies in the very distinction of which I spoke to you. Though a Government may be invisible, still when it begins to become visible, the management of that kingdom is carried on by its hands and by its actions. This state of being visible is different from invisible Government. If you ask how, I say in the same manner as the great *Brahma* is different from *Maya*. I have taken the word visible and invisible from *Vedanta* (Philosophy). The great *Brahma* which is without attributes and form is different and the visible form, which it assumes when it begins to come under the temptation of *maya*, is different. Hence these dealings which are due to *maya* are sure to change. What is the characteristic of *maya* ? It changes every moment One Government will remain permanent (*viz*) invisible Government ; and the visible Government changes every moment. The word *Swarajya* which has now arisen relates to visible Government. Maintaining the invisible Government as one, what change, if effected in the momentarily changing visible Government, would be beneficial to our nation ? This is the question of *Swarajya*. And this being the question of *Swarajya*, there arises the further question : In whose hands should be the administration carried on in our India ? We do not wish to change the invisible Government—English Government. We say that the administration should not be in the hands of a visible entity by whose hands this invisible Government is getting work done, but should pass into some other's hands. The *Swarajya* agitation which is now carried on is carried on in the belief that this administration if carried on by some other hands or with the help of some one else, or some other visible form would be more beneficial to the people than when carried on by those by whose hands it is now caried on. Let us

take a parallel. There is an Emperor in England. An English Act contains the rule that the king commits no wrong. The king never commits a wrong (offence). His authority is limited in such a manner that he has always to be advised by a minister. The Prime Minister acts on his own responsibility. There may be a good many people here who have studied English history. This is the British constitution. When this principle was established in English History, the number of sedition cases began to fall. Here in India, we have the administrators instituting cases of sedition. Those who carry on the administration are different and the king is different. The king is one and the same. But the minister changes every five years. It would not be sedition if any were to start a discussion advocating a change of ministry. It happens every day before the eyes of the English people. The king's ministers go out of office after five years, go out of office after two years : they may quarrel among themselves as they like. What is that to the king ? He is the great *Brahma* without attributes ? He is not affected by this. The *Swarajya* agitation now existing in India is then about change in such a ministry. Who rules in India ? Does the Emperor come and do it ? He is to be taken in procession like a god on a great occasion, we are to manifest our loyalty towards him. This is our duty. Through whom, then, is the administration carried on. It is carried on through those who are now servants (*viz*) the State Secretary, Viceroy, Governor, and below him the Collector, the Patel and lastly the police sepoy. If it be said that one Police sepoy should be transferred and another Police sepoy should be appointed would that constitute sedition ? If it be said that the Collector who has come is not wanted and that another is wanted, would that constitute sedition ? If it be said that one Governor is not wanted, another Governor should be appointed, would that constitute sedition ? If it be said 'This State Secretary is not wanted, bring another' would that constitute sedition ? Nobody has called this sedition. The same principle which is appliciable to a Police sepoy is also applicable to the State Secretary. We are the subjects of the same king whose minister the State Secretary is and whose servant he is. This then being so, if any one were to say, "this State Secretary is not wanted, this Viceroy is not wanted, Fuller Saheb is not wanted in

Bangal,—such resolutions have often been passed in the case of Governors, not in the present but in the past time—and were to give reasons for that, you may say about him that his head must have been turned and that the reasons he gives are not good or sufficient. But from the historical point of view, it does not follow that when he says so, that constitutes sedition (cheers.) Our demand belongs to the second class. It is concerned with *Swarajya*. Consider well what I say. If you think that the present administration is carried on well, then I have nothing to say. In the Congresses and Conferences that are now held you come and say : "Our Kulkarni Vatan has been taken away, zulum has been exercised upon us in connection with the Forest Department, liquor has spread more in connection with the Abkari Department, also we do not receive that sort of education which we ought to get." What is at the root of all this ? What is the benefit of merely saying this ? Why do you not get education ? Why are shops of the Abkari Department opened where we do not want them ? In the Forest Department, laws about reserved forests and about forest of this sort or of that sort are made. Why were they made ? At present, lists upon lists of grievances come before the Congress. Why was jury abolished against your will ? Why was no college opened in the Karnatic up to this time ? All these questions are of such a kind that there is but one answer to them. At present what do we do ? Is there no College ?—petition to the Collector or to the Governor, because he has power in his hands. If this power had come into your hands, if you had been the officials in their place, or if their authority had been responsible to the public opinion, these things would not have happened. No other answer than this can be given to the above. These things happen because there is no authority in your hands. The authority to decide these matters is not given to you for whose good this whole arrangement is to be made. Hence we have to ask like children. The child cries when it is hungry. It cannot say that it is hungry. The mother has to find out whether it is hungry or has a bellyache. Sometimes the remedies used prove out of place. Such has become our condition at present. In the first place you do not all at know what you want and where lies your difficulty. When you know it, you begin to speak. You have no power

in your hands to cause things to be done according to your desire. Such being the condition, what has happened now? Whatever you have to do, whatever you want—if you want to dig a well in your house—you have to petition to the Collector. If you want to kill a tiger in the forest you have to petition to the Collector. Grass cannot be obtained, wood cannot be obtained from the forest freely, permission to cut grass is required—petition the Collector. All this is a helpless state. We do not want this arrangement. We want some better arrangement than this. That is *Swarajya*, that is Home Rule. These questions do not arise in the beginning. When a boy is young he knows nothing. When he grows up he begins to know and then begins to think that it would be very good if the management of the household was carried on at least to some extent according to his opinion. Just so it is with a nation. When it is able to consider for itself, when it acquires the capacity of considering for itself, then the question is likely to arise. Let us give up the thought about the invisible Government, let us come within the limits of the visible Government. We then see that the people who make this arrangement, who carry on the administration, are appointed in England according to a certain law and rules are made within the limits of those laws as to what should be their policy. These rules may be good or bad. They may be good, they may be quite well-arranged and methodical. I do not say that they are not. But, however good may be the arrangement made by other people, still he who wants to have the power to make his own arrangement is not likely always to approve. This is the principle of *Swarajya*. If you got the powers to select your Collector, it cannot be said with certainly that he would do any more work than the present Collector. Perhaps he may not do. He may even do it badly. I admit this. But the different between this and that is this; this one is selected by us he is our man, he sees how we may remain pleased: while the other thinks thus: what we think to be good must appear so to others: what is there with respect to which we should listen to others: I am so much educated, I get so much pay. I possess so much ability—why would I do anything which would be harmful to others? The only answer is: Because you have such conceit. (Laughter.) It is only or the wearer that

knows where the shoe pinches. Others cannot know. This is the only cause. There is no other cause. Hence if you minutely consider the various complaints which have arisen in our country it will appear that the system which is subsisting now is not wanted by us. Not that we do not want the king, nor that we do not want the English Government, nor that we do not want the Emperor. We want a particular sort of change in the system according to which this administration is carried on and I for one do not think that if that change were made there would arise any danger to the English rule. But there is reasons to think that some people whose spectacles are different from ours see it, because they say so (cheers). Hence the minds of many people are now directed to the question as to what change should be effected in the system to fit in English Rule with the popular will. We make minor demands, *viz.*, remove the liquor shop in a certain village named Ghodegoan ; they say it should not be removed. Done. We say reduce the salt tax, they say we look to the amount of revenue derived from the salt duty. If the tax is reduced how should the revenue be managed ? He who has to make the arrangement of administration has to do these things. When I ask for the authority to manage my household affairs, I do not say give me the income which you obtain and spend it not. We ourselves have to earn and we ourselves must expend. This is the sort of double responsibility which we want. Then we shall see what we have to do. Such is the claim at present. Bureaucrats come and say, act according to our wishes ; on the other hand we say, act according to our wishes so that all our grievances may be removed. We know that sometimes a boy obstinately asks for a cap worth 25 rupees from his father. Had he been in his father's place it is very doubtful whether he would have paid 25 rupees for the cap or not. The father refuses ; but the boy is grieved at the time. And why is he grieved at it ? Because he does not understand ; because the management is not in his own hands. If he had he would know. In like manner the introduction of self-administration is beneficial to India. We want this thing today. When this only thing is obtained the remaining things come into our possession of themselves. This is at the root of the thousands of demands which we are making. When we get this key into our hands, we can

open not only one but 5 or 10 doors at once. Such is the present question. In order that the attention of all may be directed to this question this Home Rule League was established here the other day. Some will be grieved at it; I do not deny it. Everyone is grieved. It was said here some time back that when a boy is a minor, the father when dying appoints a *panch*. The *panch* when appointed supervises the whole of the estate. Some benefit does accrue. This is not denied. Afterwards when the boy has grown up, he sees that there is something wrong in this arrangement. 'I must, acquire the right of management, then I shall carry on better management than this,' he says to himself He is confident It may not be that he actually carries on the management as well. If he be a prodigal, he may squander away his father's money. But he thinks he must manage his own affairs In order to avoid any opposition the law lays down the limitation that on the boy's completing 21 years of age, the trustee should cease his supervision and give it into the boy's possession. This rule which we observe in every day life applies equally also to the nation. When the people in the nation become educated and begin to know how they should manage their affairs, it is quite natural for them that they themselves should claim to manage the affairs which are managed for them by others. But the amusing thing in the history of politics is that the above law of about 21 years has no existence in it. Even if we may somehow imagine a law enjoining that when a nation has been educated for a hundred years it should be given the right to administer itself it is not possible to enforce such a law. The people themselves must get the law enforced. They have a right to do so. There must be some such arrangement here. Formerly there was some better arrangement to a little extent. Such an arrangement does not exist now. And therein lies the reason of all our demands, of the grievances which we have, the wants which we feel and the inconveniences which we notice in the administration. And the remedy which is proposed after making inquiries is called Home Rule. Its name is *Swarajya*. To put it briefly, the demand that the management of our affairs should be in our hands is the demand for *Swarajya*. Many people have at present objections to this. I merely gave the definition in order to make the

subject clear. The people on the other side always misrepresent it. If there be no mistake in the logical reasoning of what I have now said, how will any mistake arise unless some part of it is misrepresented ? Hence, those people who want to point out a mistake misrepresent some sentences out of this and find fault with them saying this is such a thing, that is such a thing. It is not the duty of a wise man to impute those things to us which we never demand at all ; to censure us and ridicule us before the people. Need I say more about this ? (Cheers.) If anyone of you has such a misconception, let him give it up. At least remember that what I tell you is highly consistent. It is in accordance with logical science. It agrees with history. I said that king means invisible king or Government—this is no offence whatever. There are deities between. Very often God does not get angry ; these deities get angry without reason. We must first settle with them. So if there has arisen any misconception let it be removed, All I have said is for that purpose. Now I tell you the nature of our demand. Even before that, let us consider a little the question whether we are fit for carrying on the administration or not. Sometime ago, I gave you the instance of *panch* and their ward. There generally it happens that as the boy grows up more and more, those who think that management should not pass into his hands report, one that his head has now begun to turn, another that he is not mad but that he appears to be half mad and so on. The reason of this is that the management should remain in their own hands for a couple of years more. A third says : 'True, you may give authority into his hands but do you know that he has got bad habits, ?' These people say five or ten things about him. What is to be gained by doing this. The dispute goes before the Court and then they get him adjudged mad. something like this has now begun to happen here. To give authority into people's hands is the best principle of administration. No one disputes this ; because the same thing is going on in the country of those officials who are here. When they go there they have to advocate the same principle. Therefore no one says that this historical principle is bad. Then what is bad ? They distinctly say that the Indians are not to-day fit for *Swarajya* (laughter), and some of us are like the cunning men in the story occurring in the Panchatantra.

That story is as follows : A villager had come taking a sheep on his head. One man said to him 'There is a she goat on your head.' A second said 'There is a dog on your head.' A third one said quite a third thing. The villager threw away the sheep. The men took it away. Our condition is like that. The story relates to human nature. There are among us people who are just like them. Why are we not fit ? Because fitness has not been created in us. We have not done it, our parents have not done it. We have not got such powers. But the Government has given you some powers in the Council. Sinha and Chaubal are in the Council. In the Executive Councils of other places also there are selected people. When these people were selected for appointment, did anyone ever say, "We are not fit, do not give us the post." No one said it. (cheers.) What then is the use of saying so to our meeting ? I should concede these people were speaking true, if when the bureaucracy actually confers some great powers on them, they stand up and say, "We do not want them, we are not fit for them,—the Brahmins alone must come and perform Shraddha at our house, we cannot perform it." I think that those men who say things because such and such a person would like or would not like and bring forward excuses for that purpose, exhibit their own nature. (cheers) Why are we not fit ? Have we no nose, no eyes, no ears, no intellects ? Can we not write ? Have we not read books ? Can we not ride a horse ? Why are we not fit ? As a Jew in one of Shakespeare's dramas asked, I ask you what have we not ? You have not discharged your work. If it is not given at all, when are you to discharge it ? (cheers). Has it ever happened that we did not do work when it was given ? No one did say, we are unfit, do not appoint us. You appoint them. 'You get work done by them' and afterwards it is also announced in a Government Resolution. 'He has done his duty and so on.' If we go further we may ask, 'You bring from England quite a new man of 21 years. What can he do ? Has he any experience at all ? He comes all at once and straight away becomes Assistant Collector, and becomes the superior of a Mamlatdar though the latter be 60 years old. What is the comparison ? (cheers). Is 60 years' experience of no value ? A man of 21 years comes and begins to teach you.

Generally he makes this Mamlatdar of 60 years stand before him. He does not give him even a chair for sitting, and this poor man stands before him with joined hands because he has to get Rs. 150, 200, or 400 (cheers) How then is the Saheb to acquire experience, how is he to become fit, and how is the work to go on ? Has any one thought about this : Had it been true that the people of India are not fit for *swarajya* and that they would not be able to keep their kingdom in good order, then Hindus and Muhammadans should never have governed kingdoms in this country in ancient times. Formerly there were our kingdoms in this country. There were administrators. The proof of this is that before the advent of the English Government, in this country there was at least some order, there was no disorder everywhere, any man did not kill another. Since there existed such order, how can it be said that the people are not fit for self-rule. To-day science has made progress, knowledge has increased, and experience has accumulated in one place. We must have more liberty than before, and we must have become fitter. On the contrary, it is said we are not fit. Whatever might have been the case in former times, this allegation is utterly false now. Better say, we shall not give you. What I say is, don't apply the words 'not fit' to us. At least we shall know that we are not really to be given. We shall get it. But why do we not get it ? It is indirectly said that we are not fit. They say it is to teach us that they have come here. This is admitted. But how long will you teach us ? We ask. (laughter) For one generation, two generations or three generations ! Is there any end to this ? Set some limit. You came to teach us. When we appoint a teacher at home for a boy we ask him within how many days he would teach him—whether in 10, 20 or 25 days, within two months, within four months. But if the study which should take six months for the boy to finish, would he, were to say contrary to our expectation, take one year, we tell him you are useless, go we shall appoint another teacher. (cheers) This applies to all people alike. Our officers have control over the people's education and it is their duty to improve them : this duty points one way, their attempts point another way. They say that whatever attempts they make it is impossible for the people to become fit for work. We say our people are men

like you, as wise as you. You take them in service, get work done by them. Your strictness is proverbial. What is going on in the *Khalsa* territory ? There is no obstruction in the management. Is it obstructed in Mysore ? Who are doing the work ? The king of Mysore is a Hindu, the minister is a Hindu, the subjects are Hindus, the lower officers are Hindus. They carry on the administration of such a large kingdom as Mysore, but it is said that the people of the two districts beyond Mysore cannot carry it on in that manner. (laughter, cheers). There are six districts in the Mysore territory, hence, it is like saying that six are fit and eight are not fit. There is fitness in us beyond any doubt. (cheers) You may then, we say, for some reason admit it or not. Well. What authority is there for thinking that we possess fitness ? I pointed to a Native State. I tell you another thing. Keep yourself aloof for 10 years and see whether it can be done or not. (cheers, laughter) If it cannot be done take us under your control after ten years. (cheers) You are free to do so. This too, is not to be done. There is no *Swarajya*. There is no *swarajya*. What does it mean ? What do we ask for ? Do we say Drive away the English Government ? But I ask what is it to the Emperor ? Does the Emperor lose anything whether the administration is carried on by a civil servant or by our Belvi Saheb ? (cheers.) The rule still remains. The Emperor still remains. The difference would be that the white servant who was with him wou'd be replaced by a black servant. (cheers) From whom then does this opposition come ? This opposition comes from those people who are in power. It does not come from the Emperor. From the Emperor's point of view there is neither anarchy nor want of loyalty, nor sedition in this. What does *rajadroha* (sedition) mean ? Hatred o the king. Does 'King' mean a police sepoy ? (laughter) I said some time back that this distinction must first be made. Otherwise, if to-morrow you say 'remove the police sepoy' it would constitute sedition. Such is the belief of police sepoys. (laughter) In the same manner, go a little further and you will see that the demand made by us is right, proper, just and in conformity with human nature. Other nations have done what we are doing, It has not been done only in our country. *Swarajya, Swarajya*—what does it mean ? Not that you donot

want the English rule. There is the mistake at the root. Some one has some object in perpetuating it. It is served out by men whose interest lies in deceiving you. Do not care for it at all.

If you think that you are men like other men, that is enough. When our objectors go to England their intellect and they are put to the test there Therein we stand higher. What then is trotted out ? They say your intellect may be good, but you do not possess character, courage and other qualities. Their character, I admit for a ghatka (24 minutes) the absence of that particular character. But it does not follow that we cannot acquire it. (laughter) How can such character be developed in men whose life is spent in service and in service alone ? Can it be said of any person—He worked as a clerk for 25 years, wrote on the cover the Saheb's orders, obtained the Saheb's signature thereon and thus he acquired the necessary character after 25 years.—Even if some truth is presumed in such a statement yet he will at first find it difficult to do responsible work. This is not denied. But when the system under which such men are, has disappeared, it cannot be said that men would not become fit in the next generation. Hence in my opinion we are fit for *Swarajya*. I shall now briefly tell you what we wish to obtain and what we should demand and then conclude my speech.

You know what Indian administration is. It must be noted that it is carried on in accordance with a particular law. Its rules are fixed. What are the powers of the Secretary of State ? What are the powers of the Governor-General ? They define. There are three great parts of the system. The Secretary of State is in England. The Governor-General is at Delhi in India. Under him there is a Governor for every Presidency. For the present for us omit those under him. But the main system is of the above triple character. Let us begin to consider each. Who appoints the Secretary of State ? Not we. This is a heritage from the Company's government. When there was the East India Company's rule in this country, all matters were carried on in the in erests of trade. The whole attention was directed towards the question how might the

Company's shareholders obtain considerable profit the Company's Directors were in the place of the present Secretary of State. You might say that it was a contract given for governing the entire kingdom. You know for instance under the Peshwa's rule Mamlatdar's offices were given away under a contract. This Indian administration was, as it were, according to the then law of Government a trade carried on by the East India Company. They were to derive from it as much profit as possible. The Company's Directors were to be in England. The attention of the administration was directed is the fact that profit was to be given to the Directors *i e.*, shareholders. A letter used to come to the Governor-General here to this effect :—'So much profit must be paid to us this year. Realise it and send it to us.' This was the administration. The people's good was not considered under it. It was the story of the milk-man and his cows. If the cows did not yield sufficient milk, he says fill the pot with water. The administration of India was carried on like that. Subsequently it appeared after discussion that this administration was not good. And when Queen Victoria—you may say the Parliament—took the administration into their own hands, they did not approve of this trading system. Therefore they took it into their hands. This was alright. However the system of administration was modelled on the policy which was in existence when the administration was assumed (by the Parliament) and under which the Directors were masters in England and their servants were masters here. The State Secretary has come in the place of the Directors. The Governor-General has come in the place of their Governor. Thus what was done? The Sovereign—the Parliament—took the administration into their hands, but the establishment of employees which then existed has remained just as before. This happened in 1858 after the Mutiny. From that time to this, the administration of India has been carried on in accordance with rules and arrangements formed as a heritage of the Company's policy. If the power had really to go to the sovereign this modelling after the policy of the Company should have disappeared. He is the King and we are his subjects. It is his duty to rule for the good of the subjects. And an arrangement should have

been made in accordance with the rules—lawful—that may be included in that duty. But the arrangement was made thus—the Directors disappeared, the Secretary of State stepped into their shoes as the final authority. Who is to decide how much money is to be spent in India and what taxes are to be imposed ? The State Secretary. Such powers are not placed in the Governor-General's hands He is the chief officer. The Governors are under him. They are servants. There are other servants under them. And the entire administration must be carried on with the consent of and in consultation with and with the advice of this State Secretary ? Such is the present policy. What has happened gradually ? It has continued but a commercial policy. Though the rule went into the hands of the Queen's Government, and though they issued a great proclamation, the policy of the administration is not on the lines of that proclamation. It is in accordance with the trading Company's policy, the administration of the Kingdom is in accordance with the Company's policy. So the proclamation has had no effect. (laughter, cheers.) Such was the arrangement. At the time our people did not know it. I believe, that if education had spread as much as it is now, the people would have contended that since the Queen had taken the reins of Government into her own hands, the administration of the kingdom should, as regards the sovereign and the subjects, be for the good of the subjects. Our people would then have told that the arrangement made by the Company was simply for its own benefit, and that a change must be made in that policy—in that arrangement. Such contention did come. The people have now contended for many years. To put the matter very briefly, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji who is one of those living persons who clearly saw and pointed out the defects, began this work. How did he begin ? He said, What is the difference between the Company's system and this system ? We do not see any in it. The rules are all made in accordance with the Company's policy. Are the people likely to derive any benefit from them ? Then came the Legislative Councils. They were such that the Governor-General was to appoint them. Originally the members were not to be elected by the people. Gradually your men became members of the Munici-

pality and of the Legislative Council. Still the final keys are in the hands of the authorities. Discussion may be held in the Legislative Council. They say, 'You have full liberty to hold a discussion. You may hold a discussion about spending the money in this country. But we shall decide whether it should be to spend or not. Exert yourself mentally and vocally as much as you can, we have no objection to it. Be awake throughout the night, prepare your speeches Instead of printing them in a newspaper, we shall publish them in the Bombay (Government) Gazette'. This is the result. Nothing is hereby gained. Hope is held out no doubt. There is a *slokh* (stanza) in the *Mahabharat* which says 'hope should be made dependent upon time.' Our friends say 'Rights are to be given to you when you become fit. We do not wish to remain in India. When you become fit, we shall give the bundle into your possession and go to England by the next English steamer'. (cheers) Very well. A time limit should be laid down. 'We shall give in two years. We shall give in ten years.' It did come afterwards. Time should be coupled with obstacles. Ten years were mentioned. These years passed and were very wearisome We are obliged to make them fifteen was the next. Hope and time should be coupled with an obstacle. The obstacle came. 'You yourselves must have brought it' was the retort. We did not bring it. We were awaiting good time. Excuse should be coupled with it The excuse came How did it come ? It is an excuse, only nothing can be said about it. Some cause should be shown. This is a sort of policy. When you do not mean to give, you cannot do otherwise. This policy does not find a place in the modern works on morality and politics. Only, the old tradition has continued. Thus this bureaucracy has been cajoling us. For the last 5 or 50 years the State Secretary and the Governor General too have been c joling us in this manner, have kept us afloat. As soon as you proceed to make some noise, it is said there were five members, tomorrow we shall make them six What do we benefit by raising the number from five to six ? One of our men has merely to waste his time there for nothing for a while. (cheers) There is no more advantage than that. If you object to six they say we make them eight. We raise 10

to 12, if necessary. (laughter and cheers) The people are already convinced that this matter cannot be disposed of in this manner. Whatever rights you may give, give them to us absolutely, however great you may keep your own powers. Take for instance, the management of the Educational Department Most of the subordinate servants are from among us only. There is a Saheb at the head. Why is he kept there? With a view to restrain their mouths and the scope of their intellect. Even if 20 years' service be put in by the next subordinate, work cannot be done without the Saheb. That poor man actually begins to say so. It is such men that are prepared. I shall present to you two points of view. When a gardener is asked to prepare a garden just here, beyond this place, he wants flower pots. When big forests are to be prepared under the Forest Department, pots are not required. Bags of seeds are brought and emptied. Trees grow everywhere to any extent. Some of them grow small, some big The present arrangement is that of the gardener. Owing to this arrangement the trees amongt us do not grow. Nay, care is taken that are planted in pots look pretty, so that flowers can be reached and plucked by the hand. We are educated in such a way that such pretty plants may grow. In such a manner is our man treated and made to work. And then after 25 or 30 years are past, he begins to say, 'I am really not fit for this work.' We do not want this system. We want the English Government. We want to remain under the sway of this rule. But we do not want the State Secretary who has been created a son-in-law. (cheers) We want at least *our men*, elected by us, in this council. This is the first reform that must be made. In like manner the decision as to who is to expend India's revenues, how much money is to be collected and how many taxes are to be imposed should rest in our hands. (cheers) We say, there must not be those taxes. They say how can the expenditure be met? That, we will see afterwards. We know this much. Expenditure is to be proportionate to the money we have and that again has to be raised according to the expenditure undergone. We understand this. We will later see what arrangement should be made. The second principle of Home Rule is that these powers should be in the people's hands, in the hands of good man *viz.*, in the hands of men

elected by the people. At present a great war is going on in Europe. The Emperor does not decide how much money has to be spent on the war. Mr. Asquith decides it. If there is a complaint against the work done by Mr. Asquith, it goes before Parliament, and if Mr. Asquith has committed a mistake, he has to tender his resignation. Will it be sedition if he has to tender his resignation ? There is the difference in the arrangement, there is the difference in the organization, there is the difference in the system. And we are asking for a change to such a system. 'The rule will fall, the rule will go away'—these thoughts are utterly foreign to us, they do not come within our limits, our reach, our view. And we do not also wish it. I again say. If the nation is to get happiness, if the thousands of complaints that have arisen today are to be removed, then first of all, change this system of administration. There is a saying in Marathi. "Why did the horse become restive ? Why did the betel-leaves rot ? Why did the bread get burnt ? There is one answer. 'For want of turning', the leaves ought to have been turned, the bread ought to have been turned. Had the horse been turned, it would not have become restive.' The root cause is here. Complaints about forests, complaints about Abkari, complaints about Kulkarni Vatans have arisen, because authority is not in our hands. To state it in slightly changed words—because we have no *swarajya.* (cheers) That we should have *swarajya* for us is at the root of our demand, we need not then dance to anybody's tune. However, this thing may happen even in *swarajya.* I do not deny it. When we have deficiency of money, and powers are placed in our hands, we may increase the tax ; we increase it altogether voluntarily. Otherwise whence is the expenditure to be met ? But as it will be increased voluntarily, it will not oppress our minds. Here is the right door. We are passing through it. When we are passing through it, learned aliens may tell us that we should not pass through it but take another door. We cannot change. If others come and obstruct we must give them a push and make our way. The very same is the case with Swarajya. The obstruction comes from the Bureaucracy. We do not want such obstruction. The demand for *Swarajya* is such that it has

nothing to do with sedition. It has nothing to say against the invisible Government. All domestic concerns should be managed by yourselves and by doing so what will happen is that in the first place your minds will remain in peace. Whatever you have to do you will do with the thought that you are doing it for your good. Nay, you will also reduce the expenditure. I do not think that in any Native State a Collector does get a pay of twenty five hundred rupees. If there is any place in the world in which a man doing the work of a Collector gets the highest pay, it is India. (cheers) To give 2,500 rupees as pay to a Collector, would in terms of the former rule, have been like giving an annual *Jahagir* of Rs. 30,000. Have we ever given in our Swarajya such a Jahagir of Rs. 30,000 ? Rs. 30,000 is not a small amount. There are reasons however now for it. What reason is given ? Some reason or other can always be given. This man has to send Rs. 2,500 to England for his children, etc For your welfare he has come from a cold climate to a hot climate risking his health must he not then be paid ? The I C S. have laboured so much, made such self-sacrifice, and suffered so many hardships, and you would not pay them money ? It appears to be right at first sight. But now the principal question is, who asked them to come here from there ? (cheers) We did not call them. They do such work as they may be fit to do. We do possess as much fitness as they have, but we shall be able to do the work on less pay. Men can be had. Then why give so much pay to them ? We don't need it. We feel that we do not get today money for education. The excuse of no funds' which is brought forward in connection with the execution of works of public utility will then disappear. Business will go on unobstructed just as at present. In the beginning it may not be so efficient. Perhaps it may be less by an anna in the rupee. Still the satisfactory thought that the business has been carried on by the people, is of greater value. In this direction good management is to be asked for in administration. The present law must be amended. It is to be brought about through Parliament. We will not ask for it from others. We have not to get this demand complied with by petitioning France. The Allies may be there, we have not to petition them. The petition is to be

made to the English people, to the English Parliament. The present state of things is to be placed before them. We have to do whatever may be required for this If you carry on such an effort for 5 or 25 years, you will never fail to obtain its fruit. Moreover, such a time has now arrived. On account of the war effort must be made as will increase the value of India, India's bravery, India's courage, and India's stability. If the facts that the nation itself is making this effort comes to the notice of the Government, then there is hope of our demand soon proving fruitful I have, therefore, purposely brought this subject before you The subject is being discussed elsewhere also. The League which we have established for this purpose is such that I myself or someone else will have occasion to place the subject before the people at every place, if not today some days afterwards, for carrying on this work. Let this subject be always discussed by you. Always think about it, get its usefulness explained, and carefully consider how much of loyalty and how much of disloyalty is in it. This is all I have to tell you on the present occasion. Though what I have to say be much more than this, still I have told you its substance in a brief manner. If the consideration of this be begun among you, be begun in Maharashtra, be begun in India, then some day or other this work will succeed, and even if the matter lies in God's hands still this is necessary. I admit that it does not lie in our hands. But the effect of action (*karma*) cannot fail to take its place in this world. The effect of action may not be obtained so soon as I say, may not be obtained before my eyes, perhaps. I may not be benefited by it. But this action must have its fruit. (cheers) According to the law of action, when a certain action is done, another results from it, and a third one results out of that. Such succession goes on. Time will be required, there will be delay. But do we ask at all that we should have *moksha* before our eyes? Again do we ask for it with the thought that we should have it in the hands of a certain person? Only just a little ago a resolution was passed in our conference that the parties of Moderates and Nationalists are not wanted. That is to say, it is the same to us to whomsoever *Swarajya* is given. There is no objection even if powers be given to your sepoy

tomorrow. You may say, how will the sepoy exercise such a great power ? The sepoy is to die some day or other and then we will see. (cheers) We want rights. We want a certain sort of arrangement giving happiness. We will get it. Our children will get it. Make the effort that is to be made. Be ready to do this work with the thought that it belongs to you. I am sure that by the grace of God your next generation will not fail to obtain the fruit of this work, though it may not be obtained in your life-time.

THE NATIONAL DEMAND*

I have not the eloquence of my friend Mr. Bannerji, nor of my friend Mr. Jinnah, nor the trumpet voice of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. Yet I have to do a duty, and I mean to place before you without any introduction a few facts in support of the resolution which has been so aply moved by the proposer, seconded by the Hon. M. Jinnah and certainly not amended but intended to be amended by my friend Mr. Bepin Chanda Pal. The resolution, as you all know, is about Self-Government or Home Rule for India. The first paragraph of it says : 'This Congress expresses grateful satisfaction for the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of Respcnsible Government in India'. The speaker who preceded me—I mean Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal—seems to think that it is not yet time to be grateful for the declaration of policy. To a certain extent I share in that view, but, at the same time, I cannot say that the wording of the resolution is

*Speech in support of resolution on self government moved at the Calcutta Congress (1917) that said : "This Congress expresses grateful satsfaction for the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the imperial Government that its object is the establishment of Responsible Government in India. This Congress strongly urges the necessity of the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of Responsible Government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time limit, to be fixed in the Statute, itself at an early date, The Congress is emphatically of the opinion that the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms ought to be introduced by the Statute as the first step in the process."

not adequate. For gratitude, as you know, is defined by one of the best ethical writers of England to mean expectation of favours to come ; and grateful satisfaction, translated in view of that definition, means satisfaction at the pronouncement attended with an expectation that the later stages of it will come in course of time as early as possible. That is how I interpret grateful satisfaction. I am satisfied for the present that a thing that was not pronounced before has been declared now, and I hope, at the same time, may expect, that it will be followed up by higher stages of development in time to come. All talk about further stages is out of place at present. What should be the first step is the point that I want you to understand. A very simple definition of Home Rule which any of you, including a peasant, can understand is that I should be in my own country what an Englishman feels to be in England and in the Colonies. The simplest definition is that, and that is the whole of it. All those bombastic phrases, such as 'partnership in the Empire,' 'terms of equality.' etc., mean that I want to be in my country not as outlander but as master in the same sense that an Englishman is a master in his own country and in the Colonies. That is complete Home Rule, and if any one is going to grant it tomorrow. I shall be very glad for its introduction, for it will be Indian Home Rule granted all at once, but I see that it cannot be done. Some compromise has to be made with those who are not in our favour and with some of our friends. The British power in India was introduced by a compromise, by a Charter. In fact, the first step in a province which you have not conquered is always with consent and compromise, and what the first step should be is explained in this resolution. All talk about future progress, about the establishment of Responsible Government in the Provinces and afterwards in the Central Government is a very good talk with which I fully sympathise but which I am not prepared to demand as the first step of the introduction of Home Rule in India. That is the difference between myself and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. He wants the whole hog at once. I say it should be granted to you by stages : demand the first step so that the introduction of the second step would be much more easy than it is at present. The Government in the pronouncement has

used the words "Responsible Government," not Home Rule or Self-Government. Mr. Montagu in the declaration and the Government of India in their Proclamation have deliberately used the words "Responsible Government" unfortunately without definiting it, because Responsible Government as naturally understood means Executive Government responsible to the Legislature. But in one place in Mr. Curtis's pamphlet I find that "Responsible Government" is defined to be one where the legislature is subject to the executive. You will see that it is quite necessary to define the words "Responsible Government;" otherwise words may be interpreted quite contrary to our intention and it may be said; "We promise you Responsible Government but a Government where the Legislature ought to be under the control of the Executive." And the more it is placed under the control of the Executive the more responsible it will become according to this. (laughter) I must state frankly here that this is not the kind of Responsible Government that we want. We understand by the words "Responsible Government," a Government where the Executive is entirely responsible to the Legislature, call it parliament or by any other name, and that legislature should be wholly elected. That Responsible Government is what we want. When I say that the Executive should be under the control of Legislature. I go so far as to say that even Governors and Lieutenant-Governors must be elected by legislative bodies. That, however, will be the final step. But in the present circumstances I shall be quite content, and so I think most of you will be content, if the first step that we demand is granted to you immediately, and Self-Government at an early date. And in the early stages I do not think that any sane man would understand to be anything which would be attained in fifty years, because a period extending to fifty years is not 'early'. Anything that exceeds the time of one generation is not 'early'. 'Early' means certainly in ordinary parlance ten or fifteen years. I should have liked that a definite number of years should have been introduced in this resolution. However, we do not lose much. I say that no sane man can understand 'early date' to mean other than ten or fifteen years. But some men thought that it would be rash to ask for Home Rule or Responsible Government in ten or fifteen years. It was dropped. Never

mind. At any rate, the sense is there. I must draw your attention to the pronouncement made. What is it ? It is that full Responsible Government or merely Responsible Government without any qualifications—that means the same thing—Responsible Government without any limiting qualifications will be granted to you in ten or fifteen years. That part of the answer given by Mr. Montagu we note with grateful satisfaction in the sense in which I have just explained it. There are certain other conditions. That pronouncement says that it will be granted to you by stages. We also agree to it. The third part of the declaration is that these stages would be determined by the Government of India. We do not agree to that. We want the stages to be determined by us and not at the sweet will the Executive. Nor do we want any compromise about it but insist on definite stages and the time to be fixed in the Act itself so that the whole scheme may work automatically. There we differ from the wording of the declaration : however it is not said here in so many words but the second paragraph of the resolution demands it : it demands a Parliamentary Statute to be immediately passed definitely settling and fixing the time when the goal is to be reached, not leaving it to the Government of India to determine when and at what circumstances and in what stages they will grant full Responsible Government to us : definite time should be named in the statute which will be passed about the subject very soon. So, the second part of the resolution is practically a suggested modification of the declaration about which we have expressed our grateful satisfaction in the first part of the resolution. In the third paragraph of the resolution we stick to what was passed last year at Lucknow both by the Congress and the Muslim League. It has been said that that scheme is objectionable and that after a year's experience we should have modified it at this Congress. I hold a different view. I am glad that we all hold the same view. (A cry of 'no, no'.) That will be determined when we take the votes. If we unanimously pass the resolution it may be that I shall be speaking for you when you pass the resolution without a dissentient voice. I hold that the Congress-League scheme is the minimum which might be granted to us to satisfy our aspirations at present and to make a decent

beginning in the introduction of Home Rule in India. I tell you why. There have been a number of schemes suggested at various places in India by Congressmen and non-Congressmen, by Muslim League men and non-Muslim League men and by backward and forward classes as they call themselves and by other different communities, and all these representations have been sent up to the Secretary of State. What do you find if you analyse them? The majority of them say that they approve of the Congress-League scheme but they want something more, and if you take vote, you have all the votes for the Congress-League scheme and one vote for each scheme in the country. I say that that itself is an indication that the Congress League scheme is approved of all over the country and we are not going to swerve from it an inch. It has been said that the Government is prepared to grant to you Responsible Government but that you do not ask for it because the Congress-League scheme does not make Executive removable at the pleasure of the Legislature; it cannot be technically said to be responsible. The pronouncement is that "Responsible Government" will be granted to you, that it should be granted to you by stages, so that the first stage also must have something of Responsible Government. I do not think that that argument is right. The Government meaning is that one stage will be Municipal and Local, the second stage is Provincial and the last stage is Central Government. That is not the meaning that I attached to it. I say that the Congress League scheme does not provide for the removal of the Executive at the will of the Legislature; true, but it gives you all the control over the Executive We say that the Executive should be under the control of the Legislature and that four-fifths of the legislative body should be elected. What does it mean? It means that the Legislature which the Congress League scheme demands will not be fully responsible in the sense of being able to remove the Executive, but it can transfer the Executive. If the Executive will not obey the Legislature, they may be transferred to some other post. Why should you ask that the Executive should be removed? Once the bureaucracy understand that they are responsible to the Legislative Council, they are wise enough,

intelligent enough to shape their future conduct according y : they are not fools. A beginning of the responsibility is made. The Executive are held responsible and they must take their orders from elected Legislative Councils. So, to say that the Congress-League scheme is not a beginning of Responsible Government is merely deceiving oneself and others by a use of words with which always wise and selfish men try to deceive the masses. The second objection urged against the Congress-League scheme is that it is better to begin from below, that it is better to build up from foundation, than to begin with the top, so that you must begin with your Municipality, gradually have District Boards under your control, then bring Provincial Governments under your control and then the Central Government. Even that argument is fallacious. The case may apply to the building of a new house where you cannot build the top without foundation, but the simile of a house does not apply to a political building, especially in the case of India. We in India are not children to be promoted from standard to standard until we pass our graduation either in Arts or in Law. We are full-grown people. We have had experience of governing Empires and Kingdoms in the past. (cheers.) We fully know the art. Add to it that we have received western education which lays down certain principles of Government. We have learnt those principles and how to use those principles, having watched them so far in civilised countries. Are we not capable of carrying on the Government of India from tomorrow if the Government is given into our hands ? (loud cheers) When we say that Responsible Government should be granted to us by stages we cannot be meant to suppose that we should have training in Municipalities first, in District Boards afterwards, Provincial Legislative Councils next and then in the Supreme Legislative Council. There is no parallel between the two. The case of India is like that of an emasculated man who had lost or made to lose all his nervous power. In the case of a nervous disease, there is emasculation of the whole body and you have to begin the treatment with the brain and not with the toe. If you want to restore a man to health at once, you give tonic to the brain, the centre of all nervous system. So it is with India. If the present Govern-

ment is unfit for the administration of the country in the best interests of the Empire, the best remedy is to give tonic to the brain and that is Simla or Delhi. Unless that centre is made sound soon you cannot expect that any local remedy applied to the different parts of the body—to the foot or hand or other parts of the body—would be of any avail. So the Congress-League provides that we must have certain powers in the Central Government. If it is not made removable, we must at least be placed on a footing of equality. Half the members of the Executive should be our representatives, *i.e.*, they should be elected by the people. Thus we must go on building from the top. We do not want to divide the political Government in this country into parts, horizontal or vertical. We want to treat the whole man, and we want such cure to be administered as will cure his brain first and power over the lower limbs will gradually be restored. Our scheme provides for that. To talk of Provincial Government when speaking of Imperial autonomy is to talk nonsense. We must have a share of the power in the Central Government. The control over the Municipalities remains with the Central Government, and you know how that power is being exercised and what actual independence you have in a Municipality. If you mean to have local Self Government you must have power all through from top to bottom, *i.e.*, Responsible Government from top to bottom. In the Congress-League scheme it is provided that the Imperial Legislative Council should have four-fifths of its members elected and one-fifth nominated and that the Legislature should have control over the Executive. I admit that this is not Responsible Government but it is really, the beginning of Responsible Government. Take the case of a minor whose estate is in charge of the Court of Wards. The minor having attained majority claims the estate from the Court of Wards. Suppose the defence of the Court of Wards is that they will transfer the power by parts, say the stables outside the house. What is the result ? When that is done, the Court of Wards will say, "We shall then think at the later date of transferring the whole house to the man." That defence would not be good enough in a Court of Law ; and Judge will throw it away. The same is the case in the political struggle between the Bureaucracy and

the Nation. Bureaucracy is the trustee of our interests. We have attained the age of majority ; we claim our estate from Bureaucracy and men like Mr. Curtis are prepared to tell us : "Yes, we know that we shall have to transfer the whole power to you, but we shall see that it is transferred to you gradually when proper electorates are brought into existence, and that at some time in the course of a century or two when the preparations are complete or according to the Hindu time, some time in this Kali Yuga we shall transfer the power to you." That kind of defence ought not to be allowed for one moment. We are entitled to the possession of the whole house, and if we allow you to share our power with you in that house, it is a concession made for you in the hope that you will soon clear out of it. You have managed the house so long ; you have been living in the house ; we will allow you to live in the house for a longer time, but eventually you must acknowledge that from today we are masters of the house ; then alone there can be any compromise ; otherwise, none. The first merit of the Congress scheme is that it asks for a transfer of power to the elective body in a Central Government itself. Without a share —an equal share—in the Central Government, it is hopeless to be able to govern the smaller portions of the Empire, such as Municipalities, Local Boards, etc., with any sense of Responsible Government. You must banish from your mind the idea of building from the bottom. That is not the analogy applicable to our scheme. We consent to nothing less than what is embodied in the Congress-League scheme. We must have control over the Central Government. The Government of India is one body from the gods of Simla to the lowest police man in the village. If you want to grant our right, if you think that our claims are just, we must have a share at the top. All these arguments against our scheme are intended to deceive you and are advanced by people whose idea is to remain in possession of the house even though we have attained our majority and are entitled to the possession of the whole house. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal admitted that we must have the whole Congress scheme *plus* something more, I want also that *plus* and not *minus*. But I claim the first term of this equation to begin with, the other terms will follow, and I shall be one with

him when we fight for the second stage, and I ask him and entreat him to be one with me in fighting for the first. The second merit of our scheme is that it tries to build upon the existing foundation. It is not a new scheme requesting the Government to introduce any modification in the machinery of the government. The machinery has been in existence for hundred years or more. We want the Secretary of State, we want the Imperial Government, we want the Local Governments, we want the Municipality, we want the District Board, and we want also the Bureaucracy to stay in the land not to go out of it. We all want these, but we want certain transference of power, a decentralisation which will vest people with power, in every one of these institutions. We do not want to change the institutions. We do not say that India should be governed by a Crown Prince from England or that the administration should be transferred to any Native Chief We say "Retain your administrative machinery as it is." Our question is not with machinery but with power. The Government of India is composed of Legislative and Executive. We want no changes in Governor, Governor-General and also Executive Councils but we want that the power that vests in the Executive should be transferred to the Legislature. We do not want to disturb the machinery. We do not want a new machinery to be introduced. What we want is that there are certain wheels in the machinery which have appropriated to themselves the power of regulating the machinery, and we want that power to be transferred to other wheels. It is no new scheme: it is a tried scheme, a tried machinery. All that is required is transfer of power from one part of the machinery to another. The Secretary of State should be deprived of the power of controlling the Government of India. The true Government of India should be in India. What next? The Bureaucracy also agrees with us that power should be transferred by the Secretary of State to the present Government of India. We want it transferred to the Government of India and that the Executive should be under the control of the Legislature. At present about half the members are elected in the Legislative Council. What is the objection to electing a few more? All objection falls to the ground when you remember that when so many Imperial Council members are elected now and do their work often to

the satisfaction of Government. All that we ask for in our scheme is to have a few more members of that kind and give them power to control the Executive. We are to build upon the existing foundation. The objection that our scheme is unworkable, untried and that it has never been tried in other countries is useless and harmful to our interests if the objection is put in a language which may deceive the unwary. The second objection was that if we have half the Executive elected and half the Executive nominated, there would be a deadlock. It is said that one-half of the Executive will be fighting against the other half and that the conflict would make the administration nugatory. I say no. Our scheme says that the Governor shall have the power of veto and he would decide which side is correct and the administration will not be hampered in any way at all. We have made provision for it, and that provision does not suit the Bureaucrats who are in power and they think that when power is shared like that they must act with greater respect to popular opinion. Lastly, I say that our scheme is better than any other scheme for another reason, and that reason is that no other scheme will be so compatiable with the wishes of the British Parliament as ours. Mr. Curtis and Sir Valentine Chirol have been forced—and I do not think quite willingly—to accept the pronouncement of the Government as the basis of future work. Government having declared the policy—those two gentlemen would have been very glad if the Government had not declared their policy—they have accepted that policy. But what are they trying to do with it ? Given that proclamation, how much of it, in fact, what is the lowest proportion of it, that can be conceded to the people ? They wish to draw the minimum length provided for in that proclamation. That is the problem before Mr. Curtis and Sir Valentine. Our problem is how long the line can be drawn. I must warn you not to accept any other scheme or to be carried away by it simply because the author of it professes to limit it. I, therefore, commend this resolution for your unanimous acceptance.

SWARAJYA*

Mr. Tilak, who was accorded a tremendous ovation on rising to speak, apologised to them for the unavoidable necessity of his having to speak to them in Marathi. He then delivered his address on "Swarajya" and why they wanted it. He referred at the outset to the forces of opposition and reaction that had recently been brought into active play. An attempt was being made by these forces to create misunderstanding in the minds of ignorant Englishmen as to what they wanted in India. It was unfortunate that some of their own men should have allowed themselves to be led away by the campaign of calumny against the Home Rulers. Of course, it was explicable why the authorities were up in arms against the agitation for constitutional reform in India. They feared very naturally that, if the Indian demand were conceded, it would seriously interfere with the unfettered exercise of their power and authority to which they had been long used. Latterly, a body of retired Englishmen who had lost all touch with the rate of progress in India and who had otherwise done little or nothing to acquaint themselves about the real India had begun to pose themselves as the great "friends" of the Indian people and had been giving the world to understand that they were out for helping Indian to attain Nationhood. It was, indeed, very kind of them to be taking so much trouble for their sake. But it was somewhat curious that the Harrises and Sydenhams who in their day never did a good work to the Indian people should have now come forward, especially on the eve of Mr. Montagu's visit to this country.

He next referred to the internment of Mrs. Besant and the great humiliation that was in store for the Madras bureaucrats led by Lord Pentland. It had irritated them considerably no doubt, and they lost their perspective in consequence. It had been forgotten that they did not want Lord Pentland to be

*An indirect version of the speech delivered at a public meeting held at Godhra on 15 November, 1917 under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi.

removed but they wanted that Lord Pentland should act in consonance with their will. The Civil Servants too were afraid that if 'Swarajya" were given to the people, their power and authority (*Izzat* and *Ibrahat*) would be gone, and the Civil Servants were, therefore, opposed to it.

Meaning of "Swarajya"

"Swarajya" meant only one thing, continued Mr. Tilak, and that thing was that the power should be vested in them (the people). It meant that, under it, the Sovereign Power would be strengthened and not Authority. The great claim of the bureaucracy was that it had made India "prosperous." He would fain concede it, but the facts were against it. During their 100 years' work in India, he wanted to know what the bureaucracy had done to train the people industrially and otherwise and make them self-helping and self-reliant. It was an open secret that the cotton duties, which had happily been done away with now, had been hitherto maintained in the interests of Lancashire cotton spinners. The authorities were naturally anxious to maintain power in their own hands and they had no quarrel with them for that. But that desire was unjustifiable the moment the lawful claimants demanded it back. It had been said that the English Government had given India peace and order ; but that was all. The peace and order had been accompanied by no tangible results. During the time of the Peshwas ; there were no elaborate commissariat arrangements and yet at a moment's notice hundreds of people were ready to render service to the State, and it was not said that the Peshwas had not maintained peace and order. As he had already remarked, it was the great secret of political Government by England that a so-called peace and order had been given without any tangible results. In this connection, he referred to Dadabhai's famous indictment of British Rule and paid a warm tribute of praise to the great work of the deceased patriot.

"A Virtual Scrap of Paper"

Referring to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, he pointed out now it had been treated by many of the bureaucrats.

responsible as well as irresponsible, as no better than of antiquarian interest. To the ruler, colour made no difference in the treatment of his subjects, but men in authority were swayed by their own passions and prejudices and had nullified the great pledges given to them in the past. Dealing with the Morley-Minto Reforms, he observed that while there was some improvement over the past state of affairs, the progress was by no means satisfactory or even consistent with their actual needs. In the Legislative Councils, they were like witnesses in a Court of Law : they were mere lookers-on of the great drama of Government. They did not certainly want that kind of farce any more. What they wanted was real, effective control over the administration both Legislative and Executive.

Mr. Tilak also referred to the recent Italian reverses and regretted that India was not in a position to support the Allied cause as well as they might have wished. India's military power had remained unexploited, and he doubted very much if it would have been so if the Government were popular", As Mr. Lloyd George had said in his message to Lord Willingdon, what was wanted was that India's heart should be "touched". Until that was done, it was not possible to expect great help from India. After all, the Government had to remember that with this War, all the trouble would not automatically cease. As Mr. Bonar Law once remarked, there might be a second Punic war yet. The future was full "of perils and grave portents and it was statesmanship to be ready to face any eventualities."

The Anglo-Indian Hue and Cry

The Anglo-Indians' hue and cry was not only ill-timed and ill-advised but was positively harmful to the lasting interests of the Empire. The people wanted Self-Government not only for their own benefit but for the sake of the Empire. In any struggle or crisis, a contented Self-Governing India was the greatest and surest asset of the Empire, and those who overlooked it were doing the greatest mischief to the Imperial cause. Apart from it, the case for Self-Government was

invincible. A strong wave of democracy was passing all the world over and even the British Government had hailed the Russian Revolution as the "first great triumph of the present War" Lord Sydenham's contention that they in India take advantage of Britain's troubles to agitate for Self-Government was false. They had already been agitating for Self-Government for over 30 years. All over the world Self-Government was on the anvil, and India alone could not be expected to sit still.

People were no longer prepared to put up with "stone-laying" governors and a civil service that spent public money as it pleased. They wanted to see that, after the War, the Government was thoroughly responsible to the people and carried on the administration according to their needs. Before resuming his seat, Mr. Tilak exhorted the audience to be bold and courageous and frankly tell the officials, if they were asked, that they wanted Home Rule. It was no crime to say that. The demand had been admitted to be fair, legitimate and constitutional by the highest judicial and executive authorities in the land, and lately His Majesty's Government had accepted it as the goal of British rule in India. Mr. Tilak resumed his seat amidst a fresh outburst of cheering after he had spoken for fully an hour.

DELHI WAR CONFERENCE, 1918*

Ladies and gentlemen, you are meeting here in a gathering, which is held under the auspices of the two Indian Home Rule Leagues and the Bombay National Union. It was, at first arranged that at this gethering a lecture should be given by the Honourable Mr. Dadasaheb Khaparde (hear, hear) but that idea was given up in favour of holding a pan-supari meeting. This, therefore, is a pan-supari meeting, while the lecture meeting is abandoned. (laughter) Now if the new arrangement is suggested to be cancelled and the lecture to be delivered, I am sure, you will all vote against it (cries of "no, no"). Well, if you have the authority to give one opinion in

*Address delivered at Bombay on 23 May, 1918.

that matter, I have no less authority to give a contrary opinion (hear, hear and laughter). Well, now for what purpose is the pan-supari ceremony going to be held ? I will tell you why. You know that a Conference was held at Delhi the other day. According to the verdiet of the Viceroy the Conference was extraordinary. I also say it was really extraordinary (laughter), because such a Conference never took place before. (laughter) Because in this Conference there were sitting together the Princes and Chiefs and the people's representative as also the Government officers. They were all sitting in the same row, possibly the people's representatives were sitting a little behind the Princes and Chiefs. Be that as it may, they all as it were on the same level with the Viceroy as President of the gathering. Under these circumstances, you may say that an opportunity like this for all such people to meet together, being rare, was certainly an extraordinary one (laughter). Now this was the Conference or the Durbar held at Delhi, but there was no solid work, it seems done. Of course, there were various things which added to the pettiness of the function, which may not have failed to impose on the minds of the spectators its own importance. This Conference aimed at giving encouragement to the people of India to find recruits to fight for their Mother country. That was the main object of the Durbar, but what did happen there ? You will find from the fate, which overtook the resolution of Mr. Khaparde on "Self-government" that so far from the people being encouraged to take up arms for the protection of their Motherland, a wet blanket was thrown on their shoulders, for the resolution of Mr. Khaparde was thrown out. Call it Self-government or Swaraj ; it is the same thing. Swaraj should be given to India, at least it should be promised to her people. Mr Khaparde's resolution said that until Swaraj is given or promised to be given to the people of India, they will never be filled with the necessary ardour to take up cudgels for their country. This is the point that must be considered by the Viceroy and other authorities in whose hands lie the reins of Indian Government. I said that Mr. Khaparde's resolution on "self-government for India" was disallowed, but do you know the reason why ? (laughter). Because, as the Viceroy explained, in the Conference the Princes and Chiefs of India were present and, therefore,

"We must not discuss the subject of Self-government." Now ladies and gentlemen, who invited these Princes and Chiefs to the Conference? (laughter) We did not. (renewed laughter). Well having invited the Princes and Chiefs to the Conference, the Government should have no scruples in moving the Self-government resolution in their presence, because at the present crisis all will have to fight for India—the Princes and Chiefs and the people of British India. However, the resolution of Self-government of the Honourable Mr. Khaparde was discarded, and thus the chief object for which the Conference should have been held was dropped. I say, ladies and gentlemen, the plea advanced by the Viceroy was one that should not have been advanced. The Princes and Chiefs on the one hand and the ordinary people in India, on the other, are all equally interested in protecting India at this critical moment, so that, the resolution on Self-government for India could be advisedly discussed in the presence of the Princes and Chiefs of India. Now you all know, from the published report of the progress of the war that the British Empire is in the grip of a serious travail. That cannot be gainsaid. The times are really very critical. The war situation in the Western Front is serious to the last degree. The time is foreshadowed for an invasion of India. This is what the Viceroy said the other day but this is what we had anticipated long ago. (loud laughter). Then we could not say so fearlessly (laughter), but now we say it openly on the authority of the Viceroy, so that, there is no fear that we shall be suspected of sedition. "There will be an invasion of India, there must be an invasion of India." The Viceroy said so, and he also said the invasion of India must take place at no distant date and, therefore, the Viceroy further said, the assistance of the people of India is now necessary to the British Government for the protection of the Motherland of the Indian people. Now, as already said, the Durbar in question was held for the purpose of enthusing the people of India and inspiring them with the idea of fighting for India. That was why the Durbar was held. That was why the Conference was called into existence. The object was to encourage the people of India to fight for their country by giving them the assurance that they would be given self-

government. Look at what Mr. Lloyd George did for Ireland. Why is that not done for India. If Ireland needed to be encouraged by the promise of self government, why not India ? (Hear, hear). But that is not done for India which should have been done. Our representatives—the people's representatives—had been to the Delhi Conference. They were merely 30 in number. If all these 30 had emphatically pressed it home to the Viceroy that the resolution of Self-government must be passed, I am sure the Viceroy would have been obliged to take up that question in some shape or other. (hear, hear). But they did not do it—our 30 representatives did not do their duty. (Cries of Shame). Now out of these 30 people only 14 could be found to sign the requisition asking the Viceroy to consider the question of self-government for India in the Conference. So far so good, but when the time came for actually presenting the requisition to the Viceroy, who do you think, ladies and gentlemen acquitted themselves of that noble duty ? It was really difficult to get those 14 gentlemen to submit the requisition to the Viceroy. It was only Mr. Khaparde who had to do it single-handed. (laughter and cries shame) Now, why should this be so ? The reason is not far to seek. (laughter) The reason is that these men were the nominees of Government. If they were the representatives of the people this unpleasant episode would never have taken place. Government nominees are always afraid to oppose Government, and they were afraid on the present occasion. Their argument was "Where is the necessity for opposing the Government ? They have invited us ; we are invited by them to this great Durbar. (laughter) We meet here under Government invitation and we see Princes and Chiefs with their dresses resplendent with jewellery, worth five or ten lakhs of rupees. (laughter). The whole hall is shining with the lustre of that jewellery. If in the midst of such a glorious assemblage someone were to make an uncouth speech, how can that be stopped ?" This is the way how some of the Government nominees seemed to argue among themselves with the result that the resolution was not forced on the Viceroy, and no assurance of self-government to be given to us was given by the Viceroy. According to my idea, the Viceroy should have been forced to accept the resolution. For, look at the state of Ireland. The

British people promised to give Ireland Home Rule when they saw that they could not be without Ireland. It was only when they found that they could not do without the assistance of Ireland that the British people promised to give Ireland Home Rule. Why should these very people not give Home Rule to India.

India has got 30 crores of subjects without whose assistance how can India be protected ? Of course the bureaucracy tried to do without the assistance of the 30 crores of Indian subjects. That was their dodge, but when they now find that the Empire is getting helpless without the assistance of the 30 crores of Indian subjects, they feel that now the time has come when they cannot do without the assistance of the people of India and, therefore, they will pay money or give bribes in order to get as many recruits as they like. Now just consider this situation. Bureaucracy does not want to give you self-government, but they want to be protected, bv your giving you lives. The bureaucracy want you, the people of India, to protect their lives. Why should that be so ? Why should the bureaucracy be unwilling to give up their own lives ? (hear, hear and laughter). I would say to them "First make a self-sacrifice yourselves, and then we shall follow you." (hear, hear and laughter). We say we are finally convinced that everyone of us—the people of this country—must make a self-sacrifice. There is no go without it ; we must ; because we have to protect our country. Therefore we have to fight, we have to die for the country. We shall not die for the bureaucracy. (hear, hear). The Viceroy said the people of India are expected to fight for their "Motherland." Now, ladies and gentlemen, this word "Motherland" is a very sweet word. We know it is very sweet and are charmed by it. Remember, the bureaucracy is reigning over us for the last 150 years, and we ask them "what sacrifices are you going to make for our country ? Are you prepared to let go some of the power that you have in your hand ?" If the bureaucracy is not prepared to sacrifice some of its powers, which it has enjoyed during the last century and a half, what right have they to ask the people of India to die for them ? As I said, it is merely a dodge on the part

of the bureaucracy to treat us like this. As another plank in their platform to treat us like that, I may mention the fact that our deputation they sent back.

They say that the political agitation should be stopped. Fortunately they have done it at the Delhi Conference. They said, before the Conference was held that there should be no political activity in order that the whole attention of the people may be concentrated on one question, that is the question of war. They said that at the Conference no more questions could be discussed and that only one question could be discussed. I would like to ask, "If you place four or five questions before the bureaucracy do you think you would be confounding them ? (laughter.) I do not know exactly what the dodge is in the mind of the bureaucracy as regards their intention to stop all political agitation. It is only God who can read their mind, I cannot, at all, divine what is in their mind that makes them say that the questions of self-government should not be allowed to go to England through our deputation. Take the mind of Mr. Lloyd George. See what he is going to give to Ireland. It is in the hands of the bureaucracy to give us self-government. We are their subjects, and we will try to give them as much help as possible, but they must stop treating us as they have been treating us. Why they are treating us like that, as I said, I cannot read on the outside of their mind. I cannot do that correctly. Now see, how the matter stands. Although the Empire is in danger, our bureaucracy is not prepared to make a self-sacrifice by parting with some of their power to the people of this country. I have already said that critical times are overshadowing our country, and we recognise our duty to be prepared to protect the country. Whether the Government gives us the power or not and whether the bureaucracy protect our country or not, it is our duty to protect it, because it is our country, our Motherland. We want to do that. When in former days there was an invasion made against India by Nadirshah, Bajirao sent a message to the Emperor of Delhi that "We are coming to your help". (hear, hear) Ladies and gentlemen, to protect India is always the duty of the Indian people. (cheers). That duty must be done by lakhs of our people.

But we do not want to do that for the sake of the bureaucracy. We love our Motherland, and if we fight we shall fight for the Motherland and not in order that the bureaucracy should enjoy their power in India permanently. That cannot be done by us, and that must be stated distinctly. If we fight for our Motherland, it is not to let it remain under the permanent suzerainty of the bureaucracy. We must say so distinctly — there is no harm in doing so. We tell the bureaucracy, "It is your wish to encourage us to fight. It is also our desire to fight but when we apply to be admitted into the Indian Defence Force, you submit our applications to the C I.D. and on their remark rests your determination to accept or to reject the applications. You fear that if you admit us in the Army and give us certain powers, you shall be losing your powers." Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot understand any other reason why the people of India are not admitted to the Commissioned Ranks in the Army; and there is no other explanation. Therefore, our idea is that they do not want to give us any powers, because they want to keep those powers in their hands. Their idea is "If we give the people of India an inch, they are sure to take an ell." Ladies and Gentlemen, although the Delhi Conference has been a disappointing one, it has done some good. For instance, so far as the Military question is concerned, it has decided (1) that the Salaries of the Indian Sepoys in the Army should be increased, (2) Military training should be given to Indians, and (3) Commissioned Ranks should be thrown open to Indians. As I said in this respect the Conference has done us some good, but remember that the above three concessions are simply yet in the nature of recommendations. They are not yet "*faits accomplis*". When they become so, we shall consider ourselves lucky. The great charge against us now is that we do not want to protect our country. I say that is absolutely a false charge.

We do want to protect it, but how can we do it ? For the last five generations we are allowed to grow without the touch of arms and therefore, our fighting capabilities are gone. We have had no Military training, because we are not trusted and we do not know how to use weapons. Not, however, it is said by the authorities, "We shall modify the Arms Act."

We say unless the Arms Act is revoked and unless we are treated with confidence, Government will not be benefitted. We say to Government "Give us your confidence because confidence begets confidence. We will give you our confidence. You give us yours." There is nothing wrong in saying this to Government. Some people say "it is no use hustling the Government; we should strike a bargain with them." That is some people's advice. On the contrary, the Emperor had said that the difficulties of the Empire are the opportunities of India—the need of the Empire is the opportunity of India (cheers and laughter). Five or ten days ago I was afraid of giving out my views like these in such distinct terms, but now that the Emperor has said so, I can make bold to say so as distinctly as I can. The Magna Charta was obtained by the people of England when they got the opportunity to have it in the reign of King John. Therefore, I say all depends on Time. Such times come in History and then Evolution takes place. Evolution does not take place of itself. It takes place when the Time comes, that is, when people take advantage of Time. We are not dealing here philosophically. We are discussing this question as men of the world. As I said if in some respects the Delhi Conference is a failure, it has done us some good in other respects. It has awakened us to future work. It has also done the Government in the eye, in that Government has not succeeded in one of its objects, *viz.*, hushing up all political discussion. Mr. Khaparde's resolution on self-government for India was not allowed to be brought before the Conference but all the same it came into being, though abortively, in connection with the Conference It was the desire of Government to pass through the whole work of the Delhi Conference without making the slightest reference *to the question of self-government for India, but they did not* succeed. Home Rule was mentioned on the board of the Conference. That was no small gain to the people of India. The next gain from the Conference is the fact that we know the assistance of the people of India is coveted by Government. In that behalf five or ten Committees were appointed. The Durbar was thus in many respects very profitable to the people of India although they did not get from it all they wanted from

it (cheers). The Durbar having given the people of India something the people are given a fresh opportunity to go ahead. Remember again the sentence in the Emperor's message "The Empire's need is India's opportunity". We have to exploit that opportunity not in any other sense that the sense in which Australia and Canada have exploited it. We do not want anything more. By "exploiting", we do not mean to take ill-advantage of the difficulties in which the British people are plunged at present; we mean making use of the opportunity after the fashion of the Colonies. The aforesaid views of the Emperor are laconically expressed but the words are comprehensive in their meaning. We will not have ill-advantage over Government at this juncture, nor shall we allow them to have ill-advantage over us in the times of our difficulties. Now, ladies and gentlemen, you know that Mr. Montagu has gone to England just now that is only four days before the Conference was held. This is very significant. One does not understand why he was allowed to go so closely on the eve of the Conference. Was it because there is a dearth of steamer ? (Laughter). The paucity of steamers may be in our way, but certainly not in Mr. Montagu's. Everyone is entitled to assign any reason he likes for packing Mr. Montagu off to England only four days before the Conference was held. I dare say he went away at such a peculiar time because he did not want to give us anything with respect to self-government. Ladies and gentlemen I will now conclude.

You meet here to give pan supari to your representatives who had been to the Delhi Conference. Speaking on their behalf I gratefully acknowledge your thanks. Difficult as their task in the Conference was, it was rendered more difficult by their fear to open their lips and, under these circumstances, if they have done very little work in the conference, at least to that extent they have done their duty that we acknowledge. (cheers) I again refer you to the Emperor's sentence. "The Empire's need is India's opportunity", and looking to the war situation we may say "The greater the Empire's need the greater is India's opportunity". (hear hear and laughter) How "greater" it is, is matter of the Rule of Three.

CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC PARTY*

The Congress Democratic Party, as the name denotes, is a party animated by feeling of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines for the solution of Indian problems, and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste or customs. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself, and the right and duty of the state to protect it against aggression. This party supports the claim of the Muhammadans for the solution of the Khilfat question according to Mahammadan dogmas, beliefs and the tenets of the Koran.

This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister-state with every other partner in the British Commonwealth including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indian throughout the Commonwealth, and effective retaliation whenever it is denied. It welcomes the League of Nations as an instrument for guaranteeing and enforcing the peace of the world, integrity of states, and freedom and honour of nations and nationalities, and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government, and claims for the people of India, on the principles of self-determination, the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and determining the most appropriate Constitution for India. It regards the Montagu Reforms Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defects by introducing, with the aid of the members of the Labour party and other sympathisers in British Parliament, at the earliest opportunity, a New Reforms Bill for establishing full

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*Tilak's Manifesto published in the *Mahratta* dated 18 April, 1920.

Responsible Government in India, including full Military control, full Fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this object, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter the party's watchword will be "Educate, Agitate and Organise."

This party proposes to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth, and for accelerating the grant of full responsible government ; and for this purpose it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will.

Apart from the foregoing aims and principles, the party platform will contain the following planks, but it does not profess to be exhaustive :—

Imperial

(1) Repeal of all repressive legislation (*e.g.* the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, the Arms Act, etc.) ; the introduction of trial by a jury of one's own countrymen especially in cases of offences against the State ; the abolition of rigorous imprisonment for such offences, and jail reform with the view of placing offenders of all classes on a par with similar offenders in Great Britain.

(2) Securing for the labouring classes, agricultural and industrial, a fair share of the fruits of labour, a fair minimum wage, reasonable hours of work, decent house accommodation, and adjustment of relationship between capital and labour on equitable basis, and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose.

(3) Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life by tariff or by other methods with a view of reducing the prices thereof and conserving supplies.

(4) Promotion of Swadeshism and Development of Indian Industries by all recognised methods including State subsidies and protective tariff.

(5) Nationalisation of railways and regulation of railway tariffs by legislation with a view to assist industrial development and to abolish privileges and favouritism in their working.

(6) Retrenchment first and foremost in every department especially in the Military expenditure, and taxation when imperative or desirable ; but taxation graduated according to the capacity of various classes, corporations or individuals so that the burden may be proportionate to the means of wealth of the taxpayer.

(7) Creation of a citizen army, officered by Indians ; naval, aerial and military education : and Commissions for Indians in all military services without racial discrimination.

(8) Recruitment of all services by open competitive examinations in India.

(9) Promotion of National unity by such means as the establishment of a *lingua franca* for all India, betterment of relations between flowers of different religions, and especially a Hindu-Moslem Entente.

(10) Readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis.

Provincial

(1) Immediately securing full popular autonomy for the provinces.

(2) Permanent Rayatwari settlement on the basis of an equitable assessment.

(3) Village control over reserved and protected forests in regard to pasturage, fuel, dealwood, and use of minor products.

(4) Absolute prohibition of Veth, Bigar and Sarbarai.

(5) Education through the vernaculars as high as possible.

(6) Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex, and special contributions and increased grants-in-aid from State funds to Municipalities and Local Boards to carry out this object immediately.

(7) Restoration of Village Panchayats with administrative and judicial powers.

(8) Abolition of drink.

(9) Extension of the franchise without sex distinction.

(10) Sanitation upon a systematic basis under a Minister of Health.

(11) Carrying out departmental reforms already enunciated and approved by popular opinion, *e.g.* agricultural development, extension of irrigation, co-operative movement, industrial and technical education suitable to the needs of the country, organised medical relief and encouragement to indigenous systems of medicine.

Upon this programme the party appeals for votes and support for candidates pledged to these principles with the fullest confidence of receiving an enthusiastic response so as to ensure victories in the coming election battles.

5

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

[Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) has the rare distinction of being 'one of the mightiest prophets of Indian nationalism'. (Aurobindo Ghose) He combind within himself the qualities of an inspired educationist, a prolific writer, an able journalist and a fiery orator as a result of which he could furnish the case of a strong, self-assertive and vigorous nationalism. A Brahmo Samajist in the beginning but mainly influenced by the lives and teachings of Bankim Chandra, Surendranath Banerjea and Bijoy Krishna Goswami, he imparted a kind of philosophical, rather spiritual, dimension to Indian nationalism. His two works *Indian Nationalism* and *Nationality and Empire* are marked by great theoretical insight, and in the words of Prof. V.P. Varma, ascribe to him the title of being a philosophical analyst of Indian nationalism. The partition of Bengal roused deeply the sensitive soul of many a great leader and thus, like Aurbindo Ghose, he openly preached the course of political extremism. Swaraj, Swadeshi and passive resistance became the pet themes of his political writings and public utterances. In 1907 he was arrested and placed first in the Presidency Jail of Calcutta and then in the Central Jail of Buxer. But after 1908 he gradually changed his ideas. His faith in the way of extremist nationalism declined. Like Tilak, he became a changed man and in stead of eulogising and justifying the ways of political extremism, he became a supporter of 'responsive cooperation' and a champion of 'imperial federation.']

NATION-BUILDING

I

Nations are like houses, and require rightly-conceived and carefully-considered plans for their proper up-building. Nations, however, are organisms, and have therefore the universal capacity of every organisms for self-growth and self-adjustment. The plan in nation-building, therefore, cannot be evolved out of the head of the builder, but must be sought for in the past history and evolution of the nation itself. Nation-builders therefore, if at all they desire to follow the lead of science in their work and leave little of nothing to chance for the success of their efforts, must first of all seek, in the revelations of their past history and in the tendencies of their present life, for that divine plan and purpose, which has been progressively revealing itself in the life and civilisation of their people,—and which it is the highest function of patriotism to actualise in the thought and institutions of the nation.

A right understanding of the meaning and purpose of Indian history is, therefore, the primary duty of every nation-builder in modern India. We are all engaged more or less in this work. We desire, every one of us, to whatever school of political and religious thought we may belong—to build up a powerful Indian nation which will be able to enter, in its own right, and on terms of perfect equality with others, the federation of Modern Humanity. This is the Indian problem. This is the great cause which every Indian movement of our day is seeking more or less consciously to further. This is our National Programme, all else are parochial and provincial and have their worth and importance in proportion as they are fitted to help its realisation. This is the central current of our new national life, all else are subsidiary and contributory to it. But to realise this divine ambition and to direct the different activities of our national life towards this great goal, it is of primary importance that every leader of public life among us should study and understand the true and inner meaning of Indian history.

For history is to the patriot, what the scriptures of his religion are to the devotee. Indian history is the record of the dealing of God with the Indian people. It is no profane or secular book, but is instinct in every page of it with the plan and purpose of India's God in regard to the Indian people. Patriotism that does not feed upon history is like religion that rejects the help of the scriptures—rootless, fanciful, unreal, just able to satisfy the sentimentality of the spiritual or patriotic valuptuary, but absolutely incapable of importing any saving power or grace to their activities and exercises.

Our aim is to build up an Indian Nationality ; not any other. The national life and evolution of India must be essentially Indian and not British nor even Japanese. Yet it must necessarily be very different in future from what it had been in the past. For new forces have commenced to operate upon it from all possible directions ; new conditions have arisen, new ideas have been imbibed, new ideals have been revealed to us. We could not, even if we would, we should not even if we could, keep our national life and thought just as they are to-day, or take these back to any previous stage or epoch in our past history. The new Indian Nationality must not lose its hold on the past nor its vision of the future. Fixed in the sacred actualties of ancient and mediaeval India, it must reach itself out to the diviner idealities of the modern life. The nation-builder in modern India therefore cannot be a revivalist though he must gratefully acknowledge and rationally utilise and assimilate in his plan and programme all those permanent elements of our ancient and mediaeval life and culture, which the so called revivals have been helping so much to bring out. The nation-builder in modern India cannot also be a radical reformer or an abstract cosmopolitan, who believes that man is man, and there exists nothing on earth of any vital value, except the individual here below and God above, and who regards all racial differences and national peculiarities as superstitions and shortcomings, which, in the higher stages of ethical and spiritual life, are absolutely overcome and obliterated ; for to such a one, one country is as good as another and patriotism is only an amiable weakness of men, due originally to geographical accidents.

Indian history alone reveals the soul of the Indian people; indicates their speciality among the races of men, and shows at once wherein their true function and destiny lie. Every nation has a particular world-idea of its own, and develops, under the influence of its special environments particular institutions and politics for the due realisation of this world idea. This world idea and these special social and civic structures constitute the essential nationality of every people. These are primary factors in nation-building; all else are subordinate and secondary.

The consciousness of the Self as the supreme and central fact in experience, the not-Self standing a relation of eternal and absolute subjection to it, having its value not in itself but in the Self alone,—this may, in a world, be said to constitute the essential world-idea of the Hindu race. Jajnyavalka in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* summed up the soul of his race, in the immortal passages which declared: —not for the wife is the wife beloved, but for the self is she so; nor for the son is the son beloved, but for the self is he so; not for knowledge is knowledge valuable, but for the self it is to be pursued, etc.

The meaning of the self has been differently apprehended at different epochs of our pest history,—sometimes it has been conceived merely as a subjective entity, and it led to the negation of the world and all its multiform activities and enjoyments as illusion or *maya*; sometimes, again a more rational and universal synthesis has also been attempted between the Self and the not-Self, as in the whole course of *Vaishnava* thought, wherein a subordinate, but perfectly real and legitimate place has been found for the not-Self in the general scheme of life and culture;—but in the course of the whole historic evolution of our race, we have never lost consciousness of this supremacy of the Self over all else in this world.

The Hindu has lived in this consciousness, amidst circumstances that have killed many a vigorous nation of the ancient world. Political servitude, foreign oppressions, anarchy and misrule have failed to touch this vital element in our national

life. To lose this consciousness of the Self and Spirit would alone spell our death.

This supreme fact of our national life should be constantly borne in mind by the modern nation-builder in India. The meaning of the Self may, nay indeed we believe, must of necessity be modified in view of modern conceptions of man and the world. The old ideas regarding the relations between the Self and the not-Self must also be changed to harmonise with modern thought and culture. The old estimates of Nature and Society must be reconsidered, to meet the requirements of the modern ideal. But in and through all these, the consciousness of the supremacy of the Self must never be weakened or injured. In the reconstruction of our economic life, or in the reorganisation of our social institutions or even in the cultivation of the civic instincts and in the setting up of the highest conceptions of the modern State among us,—in all our thoughts and activities, we must always be guided by this supreme fact of our race-consciousness. Economics have, for its immediate end, the production and proper distribution of wealth. There are nations that have practically accepted this immediate end as the ultimate end in economics. To them wealth is valuable for its own sake, is an end unto itself. They have, therefore, been producing commodity at the expense of humanity. Shall we also do the same ? Politics has, for its immediate end, the right relation between the individuals and the State and between individuals and individuals, as members of the body politic. There have been nations who have mistaken this immediate end as the utlimate end in politics. Shall we also do the same ? These are vital questions to the modern nation-builder in India. For the Indian nation cannot grow thiswise. The one central fact in Indian history,– indeed the one overlasting, and prehistoric fact in the life-history of our people, is this peculiar Hindu Spirit-consciousness. When the Hindu loses it, he will lose his soul ; and what will it avail him then to gain the sovereignty of even the three worlds ?

The corner-stone of the new Indian nation, as it was of the old Hindu race, must be this supreme consciousness of the Self Upon this others had built, before us, from epoch to epoch.

II

Every evolution is the evolution of an Idea. The central Idea in every organism is what regulates the whole course of its evolution. This constitutes what is called the regulative idea of the organism. As in portrait-painting every line that the painter draws on the canvas is moved by the idea of the original before him and as all the lines work together to bring it out, so every step in the evolution of an organism is moved and regulated by the central idea, the archetype, which it is meant to reveal and develop. The archetype of the horse is the regulative idea in every colt; that of the dog is the regulative idea in every puppy; that of man is the regulative idea in every human baby. These regulative ideas constitute the inner principle of differentiation even in the earliest cell-formations which gradually develop into the colt, the puppy, or the human baby.

As it is with individual organisms so also it is with races of men. Different races of men constitute different types of humanity. All evolution works upon two essential factors, heredity and environment; the one constituting the element of performance, the other that of change. These two elements are also present in social evolution; and here the two essential elements are race and environments,—these last including both what may be called social environments and what may be called physical environments. The old students of human society ignored the element of race, and emphasised only that of environments, and tried to explain all differences in civilisation and culture as due to differences in climatic conditions. Modern sociology, however, recognises both the race element and environment as vital factors in social evolution.

These race characteristics are innate and pre-historic; and they vary with various peoples. "There is a natural variety of men." says M. Taine, "as of oxen and horses, some brave and intelligent, some timid and dependent, some capable of superior conceptions and creations; some reduced to rudimentary ideas and inventions; some specially fitted to special works, and gifted more richly with particular instincts, as we meet with

species of dogs better favoured than others—these for hunting, these for the chase, these again for house-dogs or shepherds' dogs. We have here a distinct force, so distinct that amidst the vast deviations which the other two motive forces (surroundings and epochs) produce in him, one can recognise it still; and a race, like the old Aryans scattered from the Ganges to as far as the Hebrides, settled in every clime, spread over every grade of civilisation, transformed by thirty centuries of revolutions, nevertheless manifests in its tongues, religions, literatures, and philosophies the community of blood and of intellect which to this day binds its off-shoots together. Different as they are, their parentage is not obliterated : barbarism, culture, grafting, differences of sky and soil, fortunes good and bad, have laboured in vain ; the great marks of the original model have remained, and we find again the two or three principal lineaments of the primitive imprint underneath the secondary imprints which time has stamped above them.

It is the original model which constitutes the real regulative idea in the evolution of every race. Wherever this model is sought to be destroyed or this latent race force of the nation is ignored, there results, inevitably, the decay and degeneration of the race.

The original models of the different races that have come together in modern India must be kept always vividly in view by the Indian national-builder. The five great world-cultures that have come together in India, have special characteristics of their own, which it would be worse than unwise to try to obliterate, and reduce them all to a colourless unanimity.

The fundamental differences in the very cast and constitution of the great world-cultures that constitute the new Indian nation, demand that the work of nation-building among us must be conducted not along one single line, whether old or new, but along five main lines,—Hindu, Parsee, Buddhist, Moslem and Christian ; all working together for the development of that national consciousuess which alone can once more secure for this country its rightful place among the nations of the world. The Hindu nation-builder, therefore, shall

not seek to superimpose his own ideals and methods upon his Mahomedan brother, nor shall the Mahomedan, the Buddhist or the Christian seek to obliterate the essential characteristics of the Hindu culture and the Hindu civilisation, by forcing their own special ideas and forms on them. No more can we force the colt to develop into a cub, than we can force one type of civilisation to grow into another, quite distinct from it. No more can we take the flower of the rose, the leaf of the mahogany the white and straight trunk of the ash and the fruits of the vine, and combine them into a new vegetable organism than we can take the best and most distinctive characteristics of the different world-cultures, and combine them all into a new culture which will perpetuate, in a new and universal form, the excellences of all. There is, really, no need for these unnatural attempts either. For, every type of civilisation, being essentially the expression of the same human mind, has got within itself all the fundamental elements of humanity, some developed and some still in a germinal condition, waiting the advent of favourable conditions to be brought to play,—has got a fundamental unity with the other types of culture. And it is this basal unity which constitutes the plinth and foundation of the new Indian Nation. It is this basal unity which, while maintaining the elements of diversity and differentiation intact, makes cooperation possible, in this work of nation-building, between the leaders of the different communities, representing the five great world cultures, that constitute the fundamental elements of the new Indian Nation. And it is, therefore, that impelled by this inner unity, and under pressure of the external conditions of our present civic and economic life, the different races and communities of modern India, shall necessarily move towards one another, following the line of their respective historic evolution, with a view to reach the common goal. The different lines that the various Indian communities shall have to follow in building themselves up, do not mean, therefore, isolation and exclusion, but federation and co-operation, under the conditions of a common economic and political life, with one another for the upbuilding of a great, a united, a powerful Indian Nation.

III

No nation can be properly built up, except on a sound and strong physical basis. Physical health and physical strength are as much needed for the up-building of individual life and character, as for that of national life and destiny. Occasionally there may be found people in whom most powerful intellects are associated with exceedingly poor health, but they form only exceptions that prove, but do not in any way modify, the general rule. The usual experience is, however, that feeble body and shattered health always act on the intellectual and moral life, and lead, inevitably, to the weakness of both.

The value of sound physical culture was fully recognised by the ancient Hindus, notwithstanding the overwhelming spiritual and ethical emphasis of their ideal and character. Realisation of the life of the Spirit was the highest ideal of the ancient Hindus, and the individual was carefully trained to attain this lofty spiritual ideal. But physical education was never, on that account, in the least ignored or neglected by them. On the contrary, a good portion of the disciplines of *Brahmacharya* had a distinct physical reference. The injunction against the use of shoes and sunshade, of soaps and scents, of soft warm beds, and above all against every form of impurity, was meant distinctly to train the youths of the nation to physical endurance. The loss of this power of physical endurance is, to a very large extent, responsible for our present national decay and dependence. The Englishman in India is not altogether unwilling to acknowledge the intellectual capacities of Indians indeed, they sometimes fairly admit our general intellectual superiority over them ; but what they do not acknowledge is our physical capacity, and the so-called moral virtues, that are entirely or almost entirely dependent upon it. To remove this stigma on our national character, by developing powers of physical endurance among the people, is among the very first duties of the modern nation-builder in India.

In seeking to realise this end we must, necessarily, adopt some of the ancient disciplines and methods. The general regulation of student-life in ancient India, the regulation of the

diet and clothing and the general habits of the young, which formed so large a part of the ancient disciplines of *Brahmacharya*, must be introduced into our present-day education with such modifications as are needed to meet the requirements of modern science and modern life. Plain-living must, generally speaking, be strongly insisted upon, in every school or college boarding in the country, and must be enforced on every student, whatever be his wealth or rank or social status, by his parents and guardians. Physical culture, even after the most improved methods of modern education, must to a very large extent fail of its purpose, if divorced from the strictly plain mode of living. In many cases it will fail to realise even its own physical end; it will be sure to lead to serious moral results. In fact, plain-living means healthy and rational living also, and a fallen nation like ours can never expect to raise itself up, unless it adopts as almost a religious duty, this ideal of plain, rational, and healthful living.

In view of the fearful influx of the luxurious methods of Western life into our country, the supreme need of insisting upon an ideal of plain-living cannot, indeed, be over-estimated. These luxuries have been already emasculating the Western nations, as they are, at the same time, utterly demoralising them. These, if largely introduced among us, will complete, in almost no time, our physical ruin. The modern nation-builder in India must, therefore, set his face strongly against these.

But if we must protect ourselves against the luxurious living of the modern Western nations, we must not, at the same time, identify wretched living with plain-living. The way in which most people live in this country at the present time is perhaps more fatal to the development of the physical stamina of the nation than even the luxurious ways of Western life. The foodstuff of the people must be considerably improved, as also their habitations, before any tangible results can be expected from the introduction of physical culture in the community.

Reform of our diet and in our habitations, healthier food and healthier habitations, these are two primary requirements of our physical life; as long as these are not secured, all our

efforts to introduce any sort of physical training in this country, either through the existing schools and colleges or through the establishment of independent gymnasiums, will necessarily fail.

THE MESSAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY

A right conception of Indian history is essential to a right upbuilding of the Indian nation. One of the most convenient myths of European origin, that has even dominated educated Indian thought for the last half a century or more, is that previous to the Mohamedan invasion, India has never had any reliable history of its own. If by history is meant a table of dates, names and events, the absence of such a history, in regard to ancient and mediaeval India, may perhaps be admited ; though in view of the notorious vandalism of some of the foreign invaders of India, it may not be wholly improbable that whatever annals of this kind may have existed in the royal archives and the sacred temples of the country, were destroyed during these barbaric interruptions. Indeed, it seems incredible that a people who judged by the remnants of their literature that have come down to us, attained a very high degree of culture, and made most wonderful advance in all the arts and crafts of civilisation, never kept a record of the doings of their kings or the exploits of their warriors, Apart from this, however, a catalogue of the dates and names of kings and warriors does not, surely, constitute the only or the most valuable materials of true history. This is needed, no doubt, for the verification of the facts and generalisations gleaned from, and suggested by, a general study of the thought-life, and social evolution of a people ; but the science of comparative history and sociology as well as the general philosophy of history have, to a large extent, made the study of social and civic evolution independent of these catalogues of dates and events. The sociological and psychological group of the sciences have been revealing to us certain universal truths and principles regarding the course of human development in general, in the light of which we may now build up a more correct history of any people than has hitherto been furnished by the annals of their kings or the journals of their warriors.

From this modern historical stand-point, the literature of a nation furnishes a far truer and more valuable record of their growth and evolution than what the so-called historical records have ever been able to give. And India possesses such a thought-history, almost in an unbroken series, from the pre-historic epochs of the earliest Vedic hymns to those of the latest Mughal Emperors. The *Vedas*, the *Sutras* of the post-Vedic period, that contain the rituals and the laws of the ancient Hindus, the Puranas, the Epics, the classical dramas, and finally, the varied vernacular literatures that developed in every part of India under the Mahomedans—the latest works of Tantricism and Vaishnavism in Bengal, of Saivaism and Vaishnavism in Southern India, the literature on the movements of Kabir and Ramananda in Northern India, that of Guru Nanak and Guru Govind in the Punjab, the *Adhangs* of Tukaram in the Maratha country,—all these furnish the richest possible materials for a true history of the Hindu people Side by side with these religious movements, we have had socio-legalistic reforms from time to time in India, the records of which are to be found in our social and juridical ordinances and codes. In Bengal, for instance, the social revolution of Raghunandan of the fourteenth century shows what inner vitality the Bengali Hindu society had even in the darkest days of Mahomedan domination.

These are the materials of the true Hindu history. And all these must be studied and digested by the nation builders of modern India, for it is in these that they will find the gradual revelation of the essential plan and purpose that the evolution the Hindu people has sought to realise in the past.

And all these records of the Hindu race reveal, as we pointed out in our last article, on Nation-Building,—the over-whelming sense of the Spiritual, the Universal, and the Eternal, that has always dominated them.

And if this intense spirituality has dominated the thought of the Hindus from almost pre-historic times, so also a superior kind of constitutional freedom has always regulated his social and civic life and institutions from the very moment that he

appears on the stage of the world's history. The Hindu system of government, when the Hindus had a government of their own, was not of a military and despotic character in which the will of the sovereign was the law to the people, but was that of an essentially and highly developed constitutional monarchy. The separation of the executive and the legislative functions —the soul of coustitutional freedom—had, from almost the very beginning been worked out most successfully among them. The king was, really, the evecutive head of the State; the council of Brahmins, aided by more popular councils, represented the legislative authority; and the essentially theocratic character of the Hindu polity saved it from those conflicts between the king and the people, through which constitutional freedom has had to build itself up in most Western countries. And even when the authority of the State passed away from their hands, the Hindus still maintained the spirit of constitutional freedom in their village and caste organisations.

The Hindu system of social organisation, though it has been, without doubt, always of the patriarchal type, has never, in any sense, been of an autocratic character like, for instance, those of the Arabs and the Hebrews The social authority in later times, and civic and social authority both in the earlier periods of national autonomy and independence, have never been vested in one man, but in a council of elders. Democracy, in the modern sense of the term, we have never had in India, it is true; but constitutional freedom we have always had, both in our State and our social organisations; and the reason why democracies never grew in India is that among us, the unit of both social and civic organisation had never been the individual, but the family. The heads of families, however, as representing the social and civic units of the nation, have always been, whether in the village community, or in the caste-guilds, or in the larger organisations of the State,—equals among equals. The genius of constitutional and civic liberty,—the common characteristic of the entire Aryan family,—has been the essential genius, always of our people also. Those who think that because we are "Orientals," we have neither the genius, nor the training for constitutional government and

being of this great country. We hear oftentimes of the Hindu-Mahomedan problem. I will not to night enter upon a consideration of the nature of this problem. I will not try to trace its history either. This much I may be permitted to say that in the days of my youth, not to go farther before, we had no Hindu-Mahomedan problem in any part of India. Our religions were different; our social customs did not agree; we could not eat and drink with one another; but both the Hindus and the Mahomedans fully respected the conscientious scruples of the two communities and differences due to religious considerations or social customs old not create any ill-feeling between Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours. Speaking of Bengal, I may say that, so far as my memory goes, and I am going close upon half a century of earthly life, we never had in our villages or in our towns until very recently any unpleasantness between the two communities. (Hear, hear). In my own village, we had a Mahomedan neighbour, a Mahomedan zemindar. We had many Mahomedan friends, but I was referring to a Mahomedan zamindar who was our neighbour; and in our village relations I remember that I used to call him my *chacha* or uncle as his son used to call my father as his *chacha* or uncle. On the occasion of any marriage in my family we used to invite this Mahomedan zemindar family and they used to make presents to the bride and bridegroom on those occasions. In village life in Bengal in the olden times there was a great deal of exchange of social amenities which is falling into disuse and decay owing to the ingress of modern civilization. On marriage and other festive occasions we rarely bought fish from the bazar. We had our own tanks where we could draw our own fish and on those festive occasions in our house the Mahomedan zemindar would place his fish pond at our disposal and we would do the same when there was any festival in his house. During the Mahomedan festivals, on the occasion of Id and other festivals, we used to send presents to this Mahomedan zemindar and, strange to say, on the occasion of Durga Puja in may father's house, we invited them. It is not that they would send us any present, but that they would accept our invitation and come and exchange social amenities apart from the religious worship.

In my part of the country it was a custom in the days of my youth when there was any death in a family and when there was a *Sradh* ceremony to be performed, friends and relations from distant parts of the country used to send special contributions. These contributions were regulated by the relative position and respectability of the people making them and receiving them. With regard to some the regulated fee, so to say, was Rs. 4. That is in the case of a *Sradh* in our family, they would send Rs 4 and a piece of cloth and in the case of a *Sradh* in their family, my parents would send Rs. 4 and a piece of cloth in return. In others the regulated fee was Rs. 2, with some Re. 1, with some half a rupee ; and this relation existed between my family and this neighbouring zemindar's family. When there was any mourning in their family we used to send them this money and this present and when there was any *Sradh* in our family, they used to do the same. This, Sir, was the relation that existed even in East Bengal 25 and 30 years ago, 15 years ago, 10 years ago between the Hindus and the Mahomedans of that Province. About this time last year I was in Comilla and I was invited by a dozen respectable Mahomedans of that town to address a public meeting specially organized by them over which a Mahomedan zemindar of the town presided ; and on the day when this meeting was advertised, as I was taking a little rest in the afternoon. I received a surprise visit from the *scion* of that Mahomedan zemindar family who my father's neighbour, who had married in Comilla and by marriage was connected with one of the highest Mahomedan families in that district. I had left my village almost when I was in my teens. My connection with my village had practically ceased for quarter of a century and I did not know that this young. man belonged to a family which was one of the families that stood in friendly relations with my family ; I did not know that this young man watched my movements ; I did not know that he would care to know me, and I was surprised to find him coming to see me at a time that was significant, at a time when some attempts were being made in Comilla itself to influence the aristocracy among the Mahomedan population to keep themselves away from the Hindu movements. This visit was significant ; it had no political reference. It was significant

as the evidence of the old friendship that existed between my family and this respectable Mahomedan family in my village.

This was the state of things quarter of a century ago. This was, as I said, true in many parts of Bengal 10 years ago. This was true almost I was going to say, 5 years back. It is therefore that I say, Sir, that we have not known really any Hindu-Mahomedan problem ; yet it must be said that since differences have commenced to arise between the two communities due to whatever causes it may be, it is necessary that those who wish well of the two communities and of the country at large should put their heads together, and devise some means by which this estrangement may at once be put a stop to ; for let us remember this, that, though the Mahomedans came to India originally from another land and were originally alien conquerors, they have lived in the country among its people for nearly more than thousand years now (hear, hear) and they have become part and parcel of the great Indian nation. And they followed the example that the Hindus themselves had set, because this country at one time did not belong to the Hindus either. They came from another country, conquered the aboriginal races, established and spread their civilization and culture and became in process of time inhabitants of this country. So the Mahomedans also coming from another country to conquer those that had come before them, gradually established their rule over them and in course of a few centuries they became organically a part of the nation, which they had originally conquered and come to live among.

The Indian nation is not a Hindu nation The Indian nation is not a Mahomedan nation either ; nor is the Indian nation composed of Hindus and Mahomedans alone. There are others, Christians—and they form a large proportion indeed of the Indian nationality. There are others though small in number but great in wealth and considerably advanced in culture, the Parsees. There are also the followers of Goutama Buddha. And these different cultures, all these different communities constitute the new Indian nation. When I was talking of *Swaraj*, when I talked of Indians and Indian

Nationality, I did not, I beg to assure you, talk either of the Hindu or of the Mahomedan, the Buddhist or Parsee. But I talked of all those, who belong to this land, who, wherever they may live, have their life's desire to spend the evening of their lives within these shores, who earn money elsewhere a but desire to contribute their earning to the economic advancement of this nation, who gather the wisdom of the world with a view to replenish the culture of the East—the civilisation of this land. It is this land which to them is dearer than all lands. It is this land which has borne on its lap their forefathers and this land it is wherein they hope and pray that their children, and their children may grow and develop and be happy and wise, and advanced in every department of human culture from generation to generation.

The Hindu-Mahomedan problem, to whatever cause or causes it may be due, deserves therefore our most serious consideration. And believe it, Sir, that this problem can be best solved by an understanding on the part of the Hindus of the excellence of Islamic culture and Islamic civilisation and by similar appreciation on the part of my Mahomedan friends of Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation.

The problem, if any problem exists at all, exists as I said the other night, not among the lower orders of the two communities. The conflict is among the higher classes wherever there is this conflict, and if the higher classes who alone are able to study, to understand, to appreciate and to honour the universal elements of their respective cultures, if the higher classes will apply themselves, the educated Hindu to the study of Islamic culture and civilisation and the educated Mahomedan to the study of Hindu culture and civilisation, I believe it will be impossible for either of them not to respect one another : and where the classes are trained and led to respect one another, there the masses who are already living in amity will grow in community of interests, mutual respect and friendship more and more. (Hear, hear)

It is for this reason, gentlemen, that I want to draw your attention just for a moment and very briefly to the contributions that have been made by Islam to the general progress of

Indian life, since Islam became a political factor in this country. (Hear, hear) In the first place you, gentlemen, who are Hindus, are proud of your religious ideals, must know that there are two ideals that stand out the above the rest in the whole religious culture of Hinduism. These two ideals are the ideal of *Yoga* or concentration and the ideal of *Vairagya* or renunciation or disattachment. But do you know that, as the ideal of *Yoga* and *Vairagya* flourished as much among the founders, among the teachers, among the saints and stages of Islam, as it flourished and as it is to be found among your own teachers, and saints and seers ?

You know of the great *Vairagya* of king Janaka who, though a king of kings, never felt any attachment to earthly things. But do you know that the world has not as yet known an example of absolute disattachment, grander, nobler and diviner, than that which was set by the founder, the prophet of Islam? When he died what did he leave ? He, the first founder of the Islamic Empire, he, who had fought many battles, conquered many peoples and received, according to the custom, his share of the booty in many wars, what did he leave ? A torn mat and an earthen chutty ! These were all the earthly effects of the prophet and founder of Islam, Mahomed himself. (Cries of *Allah ho Akbar.*) A story is recited of Mahomed and his daughter, and his son-in-law Ali. Ali one day became victorious in a battle and as his part of the booty, he got a large number of gold coins. Mahomed had nothing to eat that day. But thinking that his son-in-law having received a large booty would be able to feed him and his friends, Mahomed with his disciples went to Ali's house and called out to Ali. Ali was not at home but his wife, Hazrath, Mahomed's daughter, was there. She answered to the call of her father. Mahomed asked his daughter to come out, She said, "Father, are you alone or are there others with you ?" He said, "Yes—I have got my friends." "I cannot come out." "Why ?" I have "no decent garments to appear before any one except yourself." "Then" he said, "we have come to have a good dinner at your house. Where is Ali ?" She said. "Ali has not returned." "But give us then a good dinner." 'Father, my little baby had not had milk to drink this day.' "What,

your baby had no milk to drink ; how came it to be ?" And the lady replied—'What Ali received as his botty, he distributed on the spot to the Fakirs." Is this not an example of *Vairagya* of renunciation ? We know of *samadhi* in higher Hindu culture. But do you know that there were instances of *samadhi* even among Mahomedan saints and seers ?

The following incident is related of Ali. Ali was wounded in battle and the spear that wounded him entered his flesh just underneath his knee and it was so painful that he would not allow anybody to touch it. His disciples came to Mahomed and said : "We are in a fix ; a broken spear is got into the thigh of Ali, but Ali will not allow any one to touch it. How are we to bring it out ?" Mahomed said, "Do not do anything now. When the time of prayer comes, and when Ali sits down to prayer, draw it out and he will not feel it." And when the time of prayer came, and Ali sat down to pray, the spear was drawn away by force out of his flesh, and he did not feel that it was drawn out. (Cries of *Allah ho Akbar.*)

Talking of *yoga* and *samadhi*, I am reminded of another anecdote concerning the Hazrath himself, and it is this : You know that his beloved wife was Ayesha and it oftentimes happened that when Mahomed was in the company of Ayesha, talking to her, completely forgetful of the whole world, engaged in mutual conversation,—when there was a flow of heart and a feast of soul between husband and wife,—at that moment, if the Muzzin's call to prayer went out, Mohamed would not recognise Ayesha, who was sitting before him. The call to prayer at once took the soul of Mahomed to his God and he became absolutely forgetful of all his earthly surroundings, including the presence of his beloved and beautiful wife herself. If you read the Koran, if you read the Aziza, if you read the traditions of Islam, if you read the lives of Mahomedan saints, you will find that underneath all these divergences of ritual, ceremonial, dogma and custom, there is the spirit of devotion of God, there is the spirit of concentration and meditation of God, there is the spirit of disattachment—as much in Islam as is found in Hinduism or in any other ism.

Political Contribution of Islam

But it is not merely the general unity between the higher religious ideals of Islam and the higher ideals of piety of Hinduism, upon which our mutual appreciation and understanding must be based. Islam as an Empire, as a governing power, as a political authority, has made contributions to the general life of India, which is not as yet made perhaps by any political power. We seem to think that the idea of Empire in India is a new idea imported from the West. But long before the British raised up the standard of Empire in India the Mughals had done it. The process of Indian unification, though it has received considerable impetus from the present British administration, did not start with the establishment of this administration. The process of Indian unification had commenced with the establishment of the general authority of the Mughals all over the Indian continent. The idea of Indian Nationalism, though it has been considerably developed by the contribution of European thought and culture, did not originate with the growth and expansion of the Mughal Empire. The growth of an Empire always and anywhere helps the growth of national union and under the proper ideal of the Empire, nations grow more rapidly than they are able to grow within isolated kingdoms and small principalities.

I am, Sir, an imperialist, an imperialist of imperialists, but it must be an empire of the right sort. It must be an empire where all the component parts shall enjoy equal liberty and freedom. It must be an empire which will be an empire of the people ; if it be an empire of any particular dynasty at least among the people themselves there shall run a practical equality, equal rights and equal freedom. And though there were differences recognised by the Mahomedan administration in certain matters between the non-Mahomedan and Mahomedan subjects of the Emperors of Delhi and Moslem rulers elsewhere, those differences, I make bold to say, were not political differences but they were more or less exclusively religious differences. Under the Mahomedans, the Pathan and the Mughal, had not the Hindu a right of bearing arms ? Were the Hindus deprived of that right ? Under the Mughals the

Mahomedans could not claim the privilege of being tried by a special court while the Hindus had to be tried by another court. Under the Mughals the Mahomedan prisoner did not live in the upper storey of a two storied building while the Hindu prisoner lived on the ground floor. There were distinctions, but as I said, they were religious distinctions. The idea of equality before the law, the fundamental principle in the growth of nationality, was received first of all from our Mahomedan friends.

Before the advent of the Mahomedans we Hindus had no rights apart from that which was determined by our status. Before the Mahomedans our civic rights and even our criminal rights were all determined by our caste, by the status of the individual That is, decidedly, Sir, a lower stage in the growth of civic life, a lower stage in the evolution of jurisprudence. And it was the Mahomedans who gave us a right, a political right, in Indian apart from the independent of our status as members of particular castes and communities. There lies the foundation of democracy, there lies the foundation of real national life, there lies the foundation of true civic equality, and this foundation was laid by the Mahomedans. Our law, the Hindu law, received material contributions from the Mahomedan law and administration. Our fiscal system grew out of our old village limitation to a more or less extent into a general fiscal system under the Mahomedans, especially so far as the land revenues were concerned ; and it has not been improved much, if it has at all been improved, by the advanced and civilized administration of Great Britain.

A great deal is said now and then by ignorant men even among my own people about *Zezia*, the tax that was imposed by Aurangzeb upon Hindus and from which the Mahomedans were free. But I have a suspicion,—Sir, if I am wrong, you will correct me—the *Zezia* was really a war tax levied upon those who did not belong to Islam but who were subject to the rule of Islam. It was a tax levied upon the subjects of Islam who did not follow the rules of Islam, because every member of the Islamic commonwealth had to render military service in the wars of Islamic States, but those who did not belong to the

Islamic commonwealth could not be compelled to render this military service and in lieu of this military service which every member of Islam had to render to the commonwealth of Islam, those who did not belong to Islam but who were subject to this commonwealth had to pay this special tax of *Zezia.* It was not, therefore, a special tax that was levied upon the Hindus by the Mahomedan rulers of India, but it was a tax levied upon everyone who did not render and who could not be called upon to render personal military service for the execution of religious wars of Islam.

Influence on Reform Movements

Now Sir, briefly speaking, in politics and in administration, these have been the contributions of Islam to the general growth of Indian national life; but far more valuable have been the contributions of Islam to the social and religious life of India. All our great reform movements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were really the product of the influence of Islam upon Hindu thought. Nanak owed his monotheism and a good deal of his religious ideals to Islamic culture and Islamic tradition. In the scripture of the Sikhs you will find quotations from the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, standing side by side with citations from the lives and teachings of Mahomedan saints and sages, men like Sheik Farid and others. Even the movement of Kabir owed something to our contact with Mahomedan thought and culture. I am not aware, Sir, of the Bhagavatars of southern India, who lived and flourished 400 or 500 years back, who were contemporaries of Nanak in the Punjab, of Kabir in Upper India, of Chaitanya in Bengal, and of Tukaram on the Bombay side. But we know there was a great spiritual upheaval four or five hundred years back in India, an upheaval that tried to raise socially and morally the lowest classes of the Indian community, an upheaval that declared more or less openly a war against the system of caste, an upheaval that sought to raise in virtue the spiritual excellence and character of the lowest Pariah to the position of the saint and the seer; and this upheaval, on the political side, again, contributed to the effort an nation-building of Sivaji in the Maharatta country, of Guru Govind in the Punjab, of

Pratapaditya in Bengal. All these political, spiritual, religious and social upheavals were due to the influence of the ideal and culture of Islam upon Hindu thought, Hindu life, Hindu culture and Hindu ideals.

Nation-Building in Modern India

Keeping all this in view, is it at all surprising that we who have come now under other influences should seek to combine our forces and resources and try to work out a larger, a deeper, a wider union between the different Indian communities than what had been known in the past ? The Indian nation which we desire to build up in this country will differ from other nations of the world. Nations grew in the past by the accretion of small tribes. Tribal organizations that were more or less in their fluid state, coming together under the stress of political circumstances, formed themselves into the larger nation. But in India the problem of nation-building stands on a different plane. In India it is not, as it were of old, in other countries and even in this country,—it is not with a few fluid tribal organizations that met together under stress of common political circumstances and are trying to form themselves into a compact nation. No in India not fluid tribal organizations but developed cultures and fully developed communities, with a past history of their own, with a special characteristic of their own, with traditions of their own,—such nations, grown-up nations, who have developed caltures, have come together in the present-day India ; and the nation that will have to be built up in India, therefore, will have to be built up by the union of fully developed cultures and fully developed nationalities, and not by the union, as of old, of fluid tribal organizations. And when fully developed nationalities come together in one territory, and commence to live one common civic and economic life, and nation that must grow out of that union must be a federated nation ; it will be a nation that will respect and recognise the individuality of the different parts of it, a nation that will present to the world a miniature ideal of a federated humanity, the dream of the poet, and the hope of the man of God.

When the great world cultures meet together, they shall contribute that which is best and highest in them for the general uplifting and advancement of humanity ; when each culture will recieve from other cultures that which it lacks in itself and will contribute to those cultures things that it has developed specially in itself and which they may be lacking in ; that is the problem of nation-building in India. The future Indian nation will not be a nation that will profess one religion. The future Indian nation will not be a nation that will accept one social code. The future Indian nation will not be a nation that will submit itself to one particular set of spiritual or ethical disciplines. We cannot obliterate the past. Neither can the Hindu cease to be a Hindu, nor can the Mahomedan cease to be a Mahomedan ; for the Hindu to cease to be a Hindu is it to forego his claims to the service of humanity ; for the Mahomedan to cease to be a Mahomedan is similarly to forego his claims to render his own service to univeral humanity. The Hindu must continue to be a Hindu, must grow as a Hindu, along his own line, following his own historic evolution, towards his own idal ; the Mahomedan must coutinue to be a Mahomedan, must develop Islamic feeding, traditions of Islamic history and Islamic culture ; and the Christian shall continue to be a Christian, following the line of Christian civilisation, Christian culture and Christian tradition. The Parsee similarly shall continue to be a Parsee, grow in his own special line and culture. But all these shall contribute their best and their highest to the common life of the nation and shall exchange one with another the best and the highest that they have in them.

A Federated Nation

That being our ideal of nationality, it is almost foolish for anyone to think that if the Indian people grow into a nation, the minority shall go to the wall. If the Indian people grow into a nation, it will not be a Hindu nation, nor will it be a Mahomedan nation, nor will it be a Christian nation. No, Sir. It will be a federated nation. We have had our own history. Our position is unique in the world, our history has been

unique in the world, and in God's Providence, as I read this history and as I read this position. our destiny will be a unique destiny among the nations of the world. We shall work out in India the problem of the federation of the human race. And in working out this problem the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the Christian shall make their highest and best contributions to the common culture, first of the Indian nation, and then through the Indian nation, to the common culture of the wider, the universal life of humanity. And in this work, my young Mahomedan friends, you must join the Hindus and the Hindus must join you ; because let us remember this that our interests have been indissolubly bound up together by God. You belong to this land. Our weal is your weal, our ill is your ill ; our weakness is your weakness, your weakness is our weakness ; in our strength you shall grow strong and in your strength we shall grow strong (cheers) ; and in our mutual combination and strength we shall be able to solve the most complex problems of Indian civilization and Indian politics far more easily and with the least disturbance to the present order than our enemies desire us or wish us to do. (Prolonged cheers and loud shoutsof *Bande Mataram.*)

INDIAN NATIONALISM : HINDU STANDPOINT

One of the most striking achievements of the nineteenth century has been, it seems to me, to make the world at once smaller and larger than what it ever was before. Modern science has helped to practically annihilate the ancient distances both of space and time ; while modern historic movements, following so closely upon the advance of modern industry and the expansion of modern commerce, has enormously enlarged the field of human association, over-riding the old and narrow limits of the communal or the national life, and has thereby made the world much larger than that in which our forefathers lived. Commerce in commodities has opened up the highways of a higher commerce in spiritualities. Exchange of goods has slowly and imperceptibly been leading up to the exchange of thoughts and ideas between the most distant and divergent peoples of the world. As a result, modern humanity is passing through strange and mighty transformations such as,

perhaps, the world has never yet seen or known. And the confusion seems to many people almost chaotic.

To work some sort of a practically permanent order out of this conflict and confusion is a universal problem to-day. It faces all the peoples of the earth. The West, no less than the East, is passing through the travails of this transition. The West may be restlessly kicking about, while the East may still be cosily lying in bed ; but both are equally in the dark. Neither really knows the way out. Neither, therefore, can legitimately claim to lead the other. All that they can do, to render mutual help, is to open out their respective books of experience, and, in the spirit of the earnest inquirer, compare notes with each other.

As Hindus, we are necessarily identified with a particular culture and civilisation ; and quite naturally we have a pardonable partiality for our own ideals and institutions. But at the same time we know this also that we shall be faithless to the very spirit of this Hindu culture itself, if we fail to respect natural differences of viewpoints, or tolerate the inevitable conflicts of ideas due to these differences.

Funlamental Sense of Unity

The spiritual genius of our race has always recognised the fundamental unity that underlies all forms and classes of diversities and differences. A passion for this unity has characterised the entire course of our past evolution. Some, moved by this passion, have negated the actualities of man's sense-life, upon which our consciousness of differences and diversities is based, and have sought to dismiss both the demands of the natural and the obligations of the social life as illusory. Others have conceded a kind of conditional truth and relative reality to our natural and social life and activities, accepting them as mere moments in the evolution of the consciousness of the Ultimate Unity or as varied manifestations, for purposes of His own sport or *leela*, of the Supreme Reality. But never have we lost sight of that Ultimate Unity, where all the diversities of the natural and all the conflicts of the mental

or the social life are explained. justified and reconciled. In the Hindu's philosophy there are endless appearances but One Reality. In the Hindu's pantheon there are coutless gods but only One Supreme Lord or Isvara. In the Hindu's social economy there are numerous castes, but one organic Social Whole of which these castes, the highest as well as the lowest, however mutually exclusive they may be, are mere limbs and organs. And the Hindu's view of other races, other communities, other religions and other cultures is that these, like his own race or community or his own religion or culture, are all parts, moments or manifestations of that One Supreme Unity which fulfils and realises itself through these endless differences and diversities.

Even as advocates of Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation, we cannot, therefore, consistently with the teachings of Hinduism itself, refuse to admit that our culture and civilisation represent only a part of universal human culture and civilisation, and, at their best, have so far rendered only a few notes of that Universal Humanity which includes all the different races and cultures of the world.

For, we hold that God has left no country or people without witnesses unto His Spirit, or proofs of His Providence; and that the Universal is present behined the particular everywhere. Universal Humanity is the regulative idea in all historic evolutions. Particular culture-histories are, therefore, only parts of the history of universal culture, and have conseqently a close kinship with one another. Their unity is necessary and basal. Their divergences, however wide and vital, are due either to differences of race-consciousness—which is the element of permanence in racial evolution—or of physical environments or historic associations or to differences in the stages or evolution in which these severally stand.

Nationality as Defined by Mazzini

Nationality has been defined by Joseph Mazzini as "the individuality of a people." The Hindu's monistic instincts would, perhaps, prefer to describe it as the personality of a

people. For the idea of individuality is associated with the European doctrine of rights, which implies inevitable isolation and conflict. The authors of the French Illumination seemed to have realised this limitation of their doctrine of individuality, and consequently they sought to remedy, if not to entirely remove it, by adding to their dogmas of Equality and Liberty, a third dogma—that of Fraternity. But this Fraternity of the French Revolution had no organic and necessary relation to its other two dogmas of Liberty and Equality. It did not logically follow from them ; but was evidently added on to them in an arbitrary way to save certain vital aspects of the social life. And, consequently, while the dogmas of Liberty and Equality created endless conflicts and confusion, that of Fraternity, though meant to act as a corrective against these, failed to furnish the modern world with either any formula of reconciliation or any inspiration for unity. Mazzini himself clearly realised all this : and he, therefore, called upon his own compatriots, as well as the nations of Europe generally, to get rid of "the incubus of the French Revolution." But brought up in the dualistic and legalitsic atmosphere of Latin Christianity, even Mazzini failed to fully reach out to that higher philosophy of Nationalism, which could offer a true and effective antidote against the isolating and disrupting tendencies of the popular European gospel of Equality and Freedom.

The philosophy of nationalism in Europe is still associated with the individualistic inspirations of the French Revolution. And as enthusiasm for the gospel of individualism has developed certain anti-social tendencies in every European country, tendencies that passing through various phases, some harmless, some harmful, but all inherently revolutionary, have culminated in the modern schools of philosophical anarchism, like those of William Morris, Nietzsche and others, so the enthusiasm for nationality has developed all over Europe unmistakable anti-humanitarian tendencies, converting Christian love into patriotic jeolousy, and encouraging the practical annihilation of the weaker or younger members of the great human family, in the name of humanity and civilisation. And the popular European concept individuality, carried to the domain of the national life and seeking to convey the legitimate

but particularistic claims of the different social units into which Universal Humanity is divided, has absolutely nothing in it to combat or correct these anti-humanitarian tendencies of the popular ideas and ideals concerning the character and claims of the national life in Europe.

ifferent Note of Hindu Culture

Hindu culture took, however, a somewhat different view of what is called individuality in Europe. It is able to present, therefore, an ideal of nationality much superior to the popular European view of it. In fact, the corresponding Hindu idea is very imperfectly rendered by the European term individuality The conceit of individuality is a universal fact of human experience. But while modern European culture has been trying, by all manner of means, to strengthen and develop this conceit, ancient Hindu culture put forth its highest efforts to cure, if not to altogether kill, it. For the Hindu has always recognised the havoc that this conceit of individuality, as it exists in men and women in the natural state, causes both in their social relations and their spiritual life. It is this conceit which leads ordinary human beings, living more or less only the common life of their natural instincts and appetites, to regard themselves as standing practically apart from all other individuals about them, except those few who are connected with them by natural ties. And this sense of separateness impels them to pursue their own individual ends and interests as if these were in perpetual antagonism to the similar ends and interests of the other members of their social body. This conceit of individualism accentuates thus the conflicts of economic competition, enfeebles the spirit of co-operation in the community, and sets up the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, in its crudest and least scientific sense, as the predominating principle of the evolution of human society, as it is, perhaps, to some extent, the law in the lower animal kingdom.

Realising all these inevitable evils of the individualistic emphasis in the social life, Hindu culture never encouraged the cultivation of that type of individualism of which modern European culture seems to be so proud.

It is notorious that what they call Pagan culture in Europe also gave no room for the growth of this individualism. Both in Greece and Rome, the individual was completely subordinated to the social whole to which he belonged. Society was the whole, individuals were parts thereof. Society was the body, individuals were mere limbs of it. And though parts and limbs may have their specific functions in the general life and activities of the body to which they belong, they have, really, no specific and organic ends of their own. So it was also with individuals ; they had no ends unto themselves. This was the social philosophy of Paganism. The Hindu view, while having some semblance to this Pagan view, is, however, fundamentally different from it. The preservation of the social order was the key-note of Pagan polity ; the perfection of the individual is the key-note of Hindu polity. The difference between the two views is thus very wide and vital ; and we cannot as summarily dispose of this Hindu view as we have done the old Pagan view.

A Super Social State

Hindu polity demands, no doubt, the absolute subjection of the individual to his social order ; but at the same time, it should be remembered, that in no other social polity, whether ancient or modern, have we any provision for what may be called a super social state, wherein the individual, finally freed from all social obligations, has the fullest possible scope and freedom to live and grow as a law unto himself. To set up each individual upon the true law of his own being, is, indeed, the ideal-end of the Hindu's social polity. Through subjection, to freedom, this may be said to be the key-note of Hindu culture. Even the most galling restraints of the Hindu's religious or social life have this freedom as their ultimate end. And Hindu polity works upon the assumption that this end is reached by every individual who, faithfully discharging the obligations of his caste and order, enters in his ripe old age the order of the *Sannyasin*. This is the last of the four stages or orders of the ideal Hindu life, sought to be realised by Hindu polity. The *Sannyasin*, which is crudely renderd into English by the term roving mendicant,—is a law unto himself. Cured

of his natural conceit of self by the rigid laws and disciplines of the first three orders,—that of the student, the householder, and the hermit,—the *Sannyasin* is assumed to stand consciously identified with the Universal. Devoid of self-regarding desires, his body, placed through long and laborious physical and psycho physical exercises and disciplines above the changes and conflicts of the physical world about him,—his intellect established in the eternal verities of Reason, undisturbed by fancy, falsehood or doubt,—his emotions perpetually lost in the sense and enjoyment of the Universal revealed in both the natural and the human kingdom, and his will freed from all individualistic impulses,—the true *Sannyasin* stands really for the Universal in every department and aspect of his life, and can consequently be safely allowed to be a law unto himself. He is, therefore, no longer subjected to the rules and restrictions of caste, nor to any other social laws and regulations. The order of the *Sannyasin* may consequently be well called super-social.

This being the true Hindu conception regarding what is called the human individuality in Europe, personality, from Latin *persona*, meaning a mask, would perhaps be a better rendering of our idea of it. The function of a mask is to create a difference in appearance, where there is, in truth, no difference in subtance. Personality implses, therefore, not isolation but only differentiation ; and the difference that the concept personality implies is a difference which only breaks up uniformity in appearance or organisation but in no way destroys or even disturbs, the fundamental unity of being.

It would, therefore, describe Nationality rather as the *Personality* of a People than, following Mazzini's lead, define it as their individuality.

Real Value of Ideal of Natianality

Indeed, the real value of the ideal of Nationality consists in the fact that it offers a much larger and broader formula of human association than the idea of either the tribe or the race. As the family is larger than [the individual, and the tribe is larger than the family, and the race is larger than the tribe ; so

is the nation much larger than the race. And in this ascending series, each subsequent term represents a higher category of social life and evolution than the antecedent term. And consequently the family life offers a much narrower field for the development of the human faculties than the life and activities of the tribe, and the comparatively simpler and more limited needs of tribal life offer a much narrower scope to our powers and possibilities than the larger and more complex life of the nation. And it is just here that the higher value of the National Idea truly lies.

The development and perfection of the human personality is, indeed, the one ever-present idea, as well as the ultimate ideal-end, of this social evolution. This personality realises and perfects itself, not through individualistic isolation, but through larger and larger social association. And these social associations continually expand the range of human interests beyond and above the narrow range of the individual's own life and activities. As a mere individual, man is but little removed from the lowest animal kingdom ; is a mere isolated biological unit, not simply "cribbed, cabined, and confined" within the narrow limits of his individual life, but is inevitably in a state of latent or open war with other individuals of his class, ever read' to kill, or be killed by them. But as a member of his family he is no longer a mere unit, but an integral part of an organised unit,—a larger whole, and is able, thus, to fully and freely participate in the powers and possibilities of that whole. The corporate life of the family, as the price of the protection which it offers to the individual, does not really hamper or contract, but distinctly helps and expands the individual's life and evolution. Even the very disciplines which it imposes upon the individual, in the interests of the life of his family though sometimes in apparent conflict with the free play of individual passions and appetites, do effectively strengthen and truly expand his personality even by chastening it. Similarly, the demand of the tribal life and authority that both individuals and families shall always subordinate their particularistic interests to the larger interests of their tribe, does in no way crush or cripple, but, on the contrary, distinctly enlarges and strengthens the human personality. And the complexed

and the more organised and varied life of the nation, helps a much larger development of the individual than can possibly be done by either his family or his tribal life. And thus, by subordinating his individual instincts and interests, tastes and appetites, to the requirements, first of his family, then of his tribe, then of his nation, man finds even his own individual life and interests ennobled and enlarged; and through this very subjection to the authority of these larger corporations, he gradually reaches out to a much fuller and more perfect freedom than what he could ever dream of attaining, amidst the perpetual conflicts and competitions, for even the very barest necessaries of life, of mere individual existence in this world.

Freedom a Negative Concept

In fact, modern social philosophy, with its organic conception of the social life, demands a fundamental reconsideration of the gospel of human freedom preached by the European Illumination of the eighteenth century. Indeed, the idea of freedom as it has gradually developed in Europe, ever since old Paganism was replaced by Christianity with its essentially individualistic ethical implications and emphasis,—is hardly in keeping with the new social philosophy of our age. Freedom, independence, liberty, are all essentially negative concepts. They all indicate absence of restraint, regulation and subjection. Consequently, Europe has not as yet discovered any really rational test by which to distinguish what is freedom from what is license, or what is liberty from what is libertarianism. Practically like the popular distinction between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, that between freedom and license is more or less a question of individual opinions and associations. As my "doxy" is orthodoxy, and yours, when opposed to mine, is heterodoxy, so my "dom" is freedom, and yours, when it opposes mine, or does not suit me, is license. There is as yet, in European thought and culture, no universal standard to which we might both submit our different ideas and ideals of freedom and test which are true and which are false. In practical life, owing to the lack of any Supreme Court of Reason to which the claims to freedom either of individual members of society or of different classes in the community

could be submitted, physical force, whether open or veiled, stands as the only arbiter of these disputes. And the cause of orderly progress in different countries, or of peace between different nations, will never be really secured or advanced without a radical change in the present European conception of freedom.

Our own concept corresponding to that which is called freedom or independence or liberty in Europe is different. Unlike that of the European the Hindu concept is not negative but positive something. The corresponding term in our language is not *Anadheenata*, which would be a literal rendering of the English word independence but *Swadheenata* which is a positive concept. It does not mean absence of restraint or regulation or dependence, but *self*-restraint, *self*-regulation and *self*-dependence. Our *Swadheenata* means a good deal more than what even the terms self-restraint, self-regulation or self-dependence would convey in English. For the self in Hindu thought, even in the individual, is a synonym for the Universal. *Swadheenata* means, therefore, in our thought, really and truly, subjection to the Universal. The complete identification of the individual with the Universal in every conscious relation of his life, is thus with us an absolute condition-precedent of the attainment of *Swadheenata* or freedom, as we have always understood it.

Swaraj : What it Really Means

The conscious identification of the individual with the Universal is both the form and the norm of the Hindu gospel of *Swadheenata* or Swaraj. This word Swaraj, recently introduced into our current political literature by Dadabhai Naoroji, though evidently borrowed from the political records of the Mahratta Confederacy, belongs really to our ancient philosophical and theological literature. It occurs in the Upanishads to indicate the highest spiritual state, wherein the individual self stands in conscious union with the Universal or the Supreme Self. When the self sees and knows whatever is as its own self, it attains Swaraj :—so says the Chhandogya Upanishad. This state of Swaraj was attained, we read in the

Vedas, by the sage Bamadeva, who in the enthusiasm of his beatific union with the Universal cried out—"I am the Sun, I was Manu".

Inspite of our excessive metaphysical emphasis, which no doubt led some people to deny the value of the practical and the social life as organs of the self-revelation of the Absolute, the Universal has always been the quest of our social economy also. While the *Nirgunam* or the Abstract Universal has been the last word almost of Hindu metaphysics, the *Sagunam* or the Concrete Universal has been the eternal quest of Hindu art and the Hindu's social life and philosophy as much as it is of the other cultures of the world; though the Hindu sought it perhaps more consciously than others. Reason may revel in the *Nirgunam* or the Abstract Universal; but our emotions and our will demand the *Sagunam* or the Concrete Universal for their play and fulfilment. And though the Reason, the Emotions, and the Will are not three entities but only three different aspects or modes of one and the same unity, and, consequently, each is implied in the others, yet our emotions and our will are, in a special sense, the bases and organs of our social life. The progressive self-revelation of the Absolute as the *Sagunam* or the Concrete Universal, is, therefore, the universal logic of all social life and evolution.

Humanity as Represented in Narayana

This social evolution proceeds from lower and simpler to higher and more complex stages, in proportion as the range and variety of man's relations with other human units and associations expand and increase. It is by means of these larger and larger associations that man progressively realises his own personality and in the consequent development and perfection of his humanity, unveils Divinity that is in him. For Humanity and Divinity are, indeed, one.

This unity is the key-note of Hindu thought. The Hindu alone, among all the peoples of the earth, has, perhaps, one single word to denote both Humanity and Divinity. That word is Narayana, Narayana is the In-Dweller in individual humans,

indeed, in all beings, severally ; Narayana is also the In-Dweller in the collective life of Humanity, the Director of all social and historic movements. The English concept, Humanity, even when spelled with a capital H, is really more or less of a mere abstraction like goodness or badness, for instance. It is an abstract noun, and not a substantive one. Mazzini was the first, I think, to characterise Humanity as a Being and he tried, no doubt, to indicate by this that Humanity was something more than a mere abstraction. This Humanity, he declared, has an aim, and therefore, a law, through submission to which, that aim is reached and realised. But Mazzini posited this Humanity which he called a Being as the logic of the national life ; it is very doubtful if even his conception of Humanity reached the fullness and reality of our own concept of Narayana. Christ, as Logos, is perhaps the nearest equivalent of our Narayana—the Christ of the Christian dogma of the Trinity, where He is a Person, and not a mere Idea. Modern Christian consciousness is seeking to realise this Christ in and through the collective life of Humanity. But the essential dualism and legalism of Latin Christianity, which still so largely dominate Christian thought and culture, stand in the way of the fullest realisation by Western Christians of the identity of Christ with Humanity. The political predominance of the Christian peoples in the modern world is perhaps a still stronger reason of the incapacity of the Christian nations of our time in this matter. And as long as the modern Christian consciousness has not been able to fully realise the identity of Christ with Humanity, not as an abstraction but as a Being, the true philosophy of modern nationalism, not as a disrupting but as a uniting and integrating force in history, will never, I am afraid, be reached, and, possibly, not even understood by Christendom.

And we claim to understand this philosophy better, because from of old, our holy men have known and revered every human individual, whatever his colour, creed, country or caste, as Narayana himself. Every human, the lowest socially as well as the highest, is uniformly saluted by the holiest of our holy men all over India, as Narayana. The collective life of the various tribes, races and nations of the world is equally regarded by the highest Hindu thought as diverse vehicles and manifesta-

tions of Narayana. This Narayana or Humanity is the Whole, the different nations of the world are parts of that Whole. Narayana or Humanity is the Body, the different tribalities, racialities and nationalities are limbs of that Body. The whole is implied in the parts : the organism in the organs. Narayana or Universal Humanity is, therefore, logically implicit in every tribe, race and nation. And the end and aim of the evolution of all these various social units must, therefore, be to make explicit the life of Narayana in their own life and activities. To wound, to injure, or to hamper in any way the freest self-fulfilment of the least of these social units, is really, therefore, to wound, to injure and to obstruct the self-revelation and self-realisation, in and through the world-process, of Narayana himself. On the other hand, to seek absolute social isolation from other races or peoples, under a false idea of superiority or independence.—is also equally to impair and obstruct the fullest self-revelation of Narayana in history and humanity. If the one may be compared to murder, the other may well be called suicide ; and both are equally a sin against Narayana.

This is the philosophy of nationalism, as it is understood by the highest Hindu thought.

Ascending Process in Civilisation

In fact, even nationality is not the last word of social or historic evolution. From the individual to the family, from the family to the tribe, from the tribe to the race, from raciality to nationality, which includes many races,—this has been so far the ascending series in social or historic evolution. And the interest and obligations of the individual, gradually expanding from his own personal life to the collective and corporate life of his family, from the life of his family to that of his tribe, from the life of his tribe to that of his nation,—have so far helped the evolution and self-fulfilment of both the individual and the race. The necessary contraction of the self-regarding interests and activities of the individual with a view to co-ordinate these with the larger interests and activities of his family ; then, in the next stage, the similar contraction of his family-interests with a view to coordinate them with the

interests of his tribe ; and then the contraction of all purely tribal or communal interests with a view to co-ordinate these with the larger interests of the nation,—this has been the universal process of social evolution. It is through this process of the subordination of the smaller, more particularistic interests to the larger and more universal interests that man has been always able to develop and perfect even his own individuality. It is, indeed, the one universal process of true civilisation, which means, as Mathew Arnold pointed out, "the humanisation of man in society." To give preference to individual interests over the interests of the family, or to give preference to the interests of the family over those of the tribe or the commune, or to give preference to mere communal interests, under any plea whatever, over the larger and more complex inrerests of the nation is, therefore, really to go back to barbarism. The enemy of Nationalism is, therefore, a mortal enemy of civilisation.

Wider Fields of Human Fellowship

The value of these different terms or stages in the progressive series of social evolution, consists really in their capacity to offer wider and wider fields of human feliowship. The family represents a higher category in social evolution than the mere individual, because its corporate life and interests furnish a formula of human association which the individual could never find in himself. The tribe is a superior social category than the family for a similar reason ; because it offers a larger formula of human fellowship than the family. And the nation stands highest in the series, because of the still wider formula and field of human association and fellowship that it offers.

But have we reached the highest stage of social evolution, and the widest field of human fellowship even here ? Can there be nothing higher than nationality which, offering a still wider field of human association, will advance the cause of universal humanity still further ? The course of modern historic evolution unmistakably seems to be pointing to such a higher category. From nationalism to internationalism : this seems to be the growing cry of the history and culture of the twentieth

century. And no nation, in our time, can with impunity refuse to accept the lead of modern historic evolution and oppose the advance of this internationalism.

Signs of the growth of this internationalism are distinctly visible in both the economic and the political movements of our time. Whatever may be said of the particular philosophy of life, upon which the present aggressive Socialist propaganda seems to be based, it can scarcely be denied that Socialism represents, to some extent, the most advanced thought and speculation of modern economics, and that it will largely shape the historic evolution of the Western world, if not of the East also, for the next hundred years. And in its attempt to organise and concentrate the forces of Labour in various European countries, with a view to successfully combat the politico-economic predominance of capitalism in modern industrial life, Socialism is rapidly developing a new and powerful form of internationalism in present day economics and industry.

Modern imperialism is also helping this new ideal in another direction, through the evolution of the modern colonial policy. The new type of empire is not autocratic, like the old type, but essentially democratic. It represents, in its most advanced form, not the subjection of extensive territories to one centralised and despotic governmental authority, but the union of many small sovereign states into one large organic and self-governing whole. The British Empire, so far as its self-governing Dominions are concerned, represents this coming type of empire. These Dominions, while owning general allegiance to Great Britain, are both in theory and, in fact, really so many sovereign states. And this self-governing Empire of Great Britain, as distinguished from its other—the dependent Empire—as the mighty statesmen of the *Times* newspaper love to call it,—represents this coming type of political internationalism.

Federal Internationalism—The Coming Type

But even this is not a perfected type of true internationalism in politics. In fact, a higher and more organised type of it is

already evolving before our own eyes within the British Empire itself. The different component parts of the self-governing empire of the British have not as yet evolved any vital and organic relations with either the Mother country or with one another. They are just now hanging very loosely together. A few subtle sentiments, standing behind grosser considerations of material self-interests, are at present the only cement that holds Great Britain and her self-governing colonies together, and consequently the breaking up of this inorganic relation, though it will seriously inconvenience both the parties, may not mortally affect either. In fact, the new ideal of internationalism that has commenced to dawn upon the modern consciousness almost all the world over, is the real though silent force that is working behind the colonial policy of Great Britain on the one side, and the imperialist sentiments of her Dominions on the other. This ideal will demand more and more organised expression as it grows in the consciousness of these peoples. Indeed, this demand is already vocal in more than one Dominion, some of whose statesmen are openly seeking to build up a real federal constitution in the British Empire.

And this is exactly the form in which the new spirit of internationalism will be bound gradually to concretise and incarnate itself, if it is at all to realise its promise. In fact, federalism is only another name for organised internationalism. Freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole, is the very soul and essence of the federal idea. It is also the soul and essence o' that internationalism towards which the modern world is visibly moving, as a higher stage of social evolution. Federal Imperialism, or, if any one should object to the term imperialism—as some people do, I know, even in England, on account of some of its past ugly associations—Federal Internationalism is most decidedly the coming idea in present social evolution and modern world-politics. And the Nationalist ideal will assuredly fail of its own purpose if, either through lack of strength or of wisdom, it cannot reach out gradually to this Federal Internationalism.

What Different National Units Should Do

The different national units must, therefore, with a view to help the evolution of this Federal Internationalism a d fully participate in all that it stands for, diligently cultivate both their strength and their wisdom. They must first be strong in themselves, physically, economically, and politically,—in other words, they must improve their physique, increase their material resources, and develop their capacity for co-operation and combination in every department of life, always subordinating personal or family or communal interests to the larger interests of the nation And they must do it, for the simple reason that though the other and stronger nations of the world may be only too ready to exploit their weaker brethren, no one will care to fraternise on absolutely equal terms with the latter. And they must also, at the same time, cultivate that superior wisdom which recognises the universal evidence of history that unless physical or economic or political strength is constantly controlled by the vision of the ultimate ideal ends of the national life, instead of helping, it perpetually hinders real peaceful progress and, almost invariably, first dehumanises the stronger nation and then destroys it.

Federal Internationalism being the immediate end of the evolution of all national units, the Nationalist ideal can never demand a deliberate breaking up of any relation into which any nation may have already entered either by consent or by conquest, or, as it has been the case with us, partly by consent and partly by conquest, in the course of its past history. All that the true Nationalist ideal demands in these cases, is the gradual evolution of all such existing relations towards the true federal type Never seek to recklessly break away from the past, is the very first article of the Nationalist creed. And the "past" here means the entire time series, from the prehistoric beginnings of the nation's life up to the very latest phase or stage of its historic evolution. For, the one abiding idea running through the entire course of this evolution is to continually increase the range and complexity of the life and culture of the nation by leading or even forcing it into fresh associations with other national units and racial cultures.

Conflicts may sometimes, indeed, do very frequently, arise between the ideals and interests of the nation on the one side, and the narrow and particularistic instincts and interests of any other nation that may have entered into vital historic or politico-economic relations with it on the other. But however strange it may sound, by the universal testimony of history the inner objective of these conflicts has never been to destroy, but, on the contrary, always to develop human fellowship and social unity.

Universal Testimony of History

In primitive culture, tribes who first met to fight one another for robbing one another's cattle or pasture or for adding to the number of their slaves, found it afterwards far more profitable to join their forces together for protection against other stronger tribes and to gradually assimilate their respective knowledge of the means both of production and defence, and thus to combine their primitive strength and culture with a view to form a larger and more powerful community. Races have done so in later stages of social and historic evolution, combining thereby to form nations. Thus the ultimate end even of temporary conflicts of national interests, however bitter these may seem to be at the time, is not necessarily to absolutely oppose or obstruct the growth of federal internationalism, but, on the contrary, by their very antithesis, to promote and perfect it.

For, though conflicts between the competing interests of one people and another, placed by force of historic conditions, in close and vital political or politico-economic relations with each other, may, under certain circumstances, be quite natural, it should never be forgotten, especially by the leaders of public opinion among both these peoples, that compromise is always rational. It is, indeed, the universal master-key of every social or international complication. And the objective of all statesmanly compromise should be not merely to work a temporary truce between rival social or political forces, but to establish a permanent reconciliation between them. The true nationalist ideal, therefore, while not flinching from any conflicts that

may have to be faced for its legitimate realisation and that are calculated to call out all the latent strength and wisdom of the nation, must always strive, even in the midst of the most bitter struggles, for that ultimate reconciliation and synthesis which will enlarge and multiply the organic relations of the nation with other nations ; and make it, in combination with these, a great power for good in the common life of universal humanity.

New Stand of Indian Nationalist Thought

Indian nationalist thought stands, therefore, not only for the furtherance of the cause of true freedom in India, by which I understand the fullest scope and opportunity for the utmost possible development and perfection of the special genius and character of our nation, of our culture and civilisation,—with a view to be able to bear our share of the work of universal humanity and to make our special contribution to the culture and character of the race,—but also for the continuance of the British connection with us for the immense possibilities of that federal internationalism which may be most easily secured for our nation through this connection.

Nationalism demands the fullest legitimate scope for the self evolution and self-fulfilment of the nation, without let or hindrance from any other nation or nations, pursuing their own special and particularistic national ends and interests in their relations with the former. The realisation of the nationalist ideal is, therefore, inherently incompatible with the presence of any form of outside subjection. But we should not forget it that though there can be no subjection without connection, there can well be very intimate connection without such subjection. Connection implies, no doubt, some degree of control, but while in subjection this control is exercised by one party only over the others, in the kind of connection which the ideal of federal internationalism or imperialism implies, however intimate the connection may be, the necessary control is exercised mutually over one another by both or all the parties to the relation. And such control, making only and always for the good of all, can never be hurtful to either

the sentiment of self-dependence of a people or their real national interests.

In fact, some measure of control, and even restriction, is inevitable in every form of human association. The family everywhere exercises this kind of control over its individual members, the tribe over its component families or clans, the nation over its component communities, the state over every individual citizen,—and it never impairs their legitimate freedom or hampers their rational growth and development. Why then should any control or restriction, that must follow the formation of any larger association than that of the nation, impair national freedom or hamper national self-fulfilment ?

The continuance of the British connection with India in and through the gradual evolution of federalism, would, therefore, in no way conflict with the truest and the highest Nationalist Ideal. On the contrary, it would mate ially help the evolution of our national life towards the next higher social synthesis, namely, federal internationalism, in which every nationalist ideal must seek and find its meaning and end. It is along this line only that we must move, like the other nations of the world. to finally take our God-appointed place in the Universal Federation of Mankind, which will fill progressively the largest and most perfect organ of the Life and Love of Narayana here below.

PAN-ISLAMISM—AN ERRONEOUS ESTIMATE

It can no longer be denied that pan-Islamism is gradually coming to be a very important factor in the social and political evolution, in any case of modern India, if not indeed of the modern world. Yet neither friend nor foe seems so far to clearly realise either the good or the evil that this new and growing force in modern world politics may work in the coming centuries. In the consideration of all large world-problems the English-educated Hindu generally takes his due from his European masters, and he is, therefore not prepared to take the pan-Islamic movement very seriously. He thinks with Europe that the days of religious upheavals and fanatical

outbursts of ignorant and undisciplined multitudes, as a compelling social or political force, are long gone by. The race now is not with those who command the wildest religious enthusiasm, or possess the highest personal courage, but only with those who own the most up-to-date scientific training and equipment. Japan has practically little or no deep religious enthusiasm. The Jap is perhaps the least religious animal in modern civilisation, unless we take his Bushido itself as a form of religion. He is prepared to accept and avow any creed that will be helpful to his earthly national ends. Yet this petty island kingdom, devoid of any living enthusiasm for any religious creed or cry, has within a few years won for itself a recognised place in modern worldpolitics. And it is entirely due to Japan's large scientific acquisitions and perfect military organisation. It will be long, very very long indeed, before Islam will acquire these, and particularly the former. Islam may count upon her numerical strength, and the strategic advantage which, under certain conditions, the wide distribution of her population may give her. But these do not ensure her success, and not even her safety, in the event of any open and direct conflict between the forces of pan-Europeanism on the one side and those of pan-Islamism on the other. Any outburst of Moslem fanaticism, such as may very easily be fanned into flame by the pan-Islamic propaganda, will only help to break up the strength of Islam instead of consolidating it. This is how the ordinary European publicist and politician feel. This is how even many of my own educated Hindu brethren feel about pan-Islamism. But the estimate seems to my mind to be entirely erroneous.

As Aggressive Religious Propaganda

If pan-Islamism cherishes the wild dream of once more acting, in the coming centuries, the part that Islam played in the past in shaping the course of historic evolution in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, it is foredoomed no doubt to absolute and ignominous disappointment. History has never been known to repeat itself in this fashion. Islam as an invincible military force has not the ghost of a chance in the modern world. Indeed, I do not believe that any sober and

thoughtful pan-Islamist ever cherishes any such wild idea himself. The inherent aggressive spirit of Islam will seek—in fact, it is already seeking—to realise itself in our age more through friendly proselytisation than through bloody conquest. And in peaceful propagandism Islam has, I think, far greater chance of success than any other world-religion. Its simple creed has an appeal for primitive and unsophisticated humanity which neither Christianity nor any other system has. 'There is no God except God, and Mahomed is His Prophet' is a creed that even a child may grasp. There are no mysteries, no contradictions, no metaphysics, in this simple declaration of faith. Man's spiritual experiences may rise to much loftier heights or descend to much deeper depths than what this simple creed connotes. Even Islam knows of these higher heights and deeper depths. The lives of Moslem saints bear ample testimony to the deeper notes of the spiritual life of Islam. But the rudimentary creed of the Qoran has reduced human religion to what may best be described as its least common multiple. There is no further simplifying it. And this magic simplicity of the creed of Islam is the secret of the success of Moslem propagandism in the modern world, especially among less advanced and less sophisticated peoples, whether in Asia or Africa.

Solidarity of Islam

It seems indeed well nigh impossible to stem the tide of Moslem propagandism either in Asia or Africa. The only competitor in the field is Evangelical Christianity. But Christianity cannot reach primitive intelligence, half so near as Islam can. Wherever the Christian missions have attained any large success it has been due to their political associations and influences rather than to their direct religious message or spiritual ideals. But Islam wins, in any case in our time, without these extraneous helps. On the other hand, Christianity cannot, in our time, use its superior political power or military prowess to force people to accept it. It has to face its rivals with only logic and reason. And so far as the primitive races are concerned, this is a great disadvantage to the Christian

missions. And it is just this growing numerical strength of the Moslem populations of the world which constitutes the most serious aspect of the present pan-Islamic propaganda. And this seriousness comes from the democratic character of Moslem social economy and the strange solidarity of the Moslem communities which it always works up. Islam is the only religious system in the world which has no regular priesthood. In the eye of Allah every Mussalman is absolutely equal to every other Mussalman And each individual member of the Islamic fraternity stands in a close personal and direct relation to it. And this is the secret of the strange solidarity of Islam. Nor is it a mere matter of subjective sentiment. There are outer and visible symbols. Is it for nothing that Mahomed ordained it that every Moslem, to whatever country or race he might belong, must turn towards the Caaba every time he approaches his God ? There is no parallel to it in any other religion or church. There can be no comparison, for instance, in this respect, between the position of Rome in the Catholic world and of Mecca in Islam. The Rome of Islam, if the Caaba may be styled as such, knows no Pope. This Moslem institution exercises no kind of temporal or even religious authority over the Moslem world. In fact, it is not an institution but, strictly speaking, only an association and an ideal, a pure symbol. It works upon the Moslem populations of the world not by threats of punishment, not through fear but through love. It works really not from without but from within. It leaves every man to pursue his temporal ends in his own way, and it does not, therefore, prevent even one Moslem fighting another form wealth or worldly power or position but simpply binds every Moslem to every other Moslem in one ever-present and indissoluble religious bond. In their relations to the Prophet, the Qoran and the Caaba, all Moslems are eternally united. The supreme obligation of this relation is that every fighting unit, which means every adult man in Islam, must leave and dedicate his all, even his life, for the protection of the Caaba, should it ever be threatened with destruction or pollution by the infidel. And it is just here that the importance and gravity of the pan-Islamic propaganda lie.

Pan-Islamism and World Peace

The success of this pan-Islamism will never mean another Mussalman erruption upon the civilised world. It will not mean any aggressive movement for the conquest of either Europe or Asia. But it will mean a most determined and united stand of the Moslem populations of the world against the aggression of Christendom. These populations are scattered over more than two continents. Practically the whole of Northern and Central Africa, the whole of Western and Central Asia, India and the North-Eastern Provinces of China are comprised within this Moslem zone. Within this extensive tract we have a huge Moslem population, ignorant and backward for the most part, no doubt, yet capable of seriously interfering indirectly with the peace and progress of the world. The problem of European peace, for instance, is no longer a mere European problem but is a huge and complex world problem. Mr. Norman Angel has demonstrated it that modern industrialism has practically removed the ancient motives of international wars among the different European countries. The Turko-Bulgarian War is the last war of strictly European origin. And even this can hardly be said to have had a truly economic reason. It was moved on the part of the Balkan Allies, at any rate, by a desire for national independence. Neither the Bulgarians nor the Serbians nor any other of the smaller States that rose up in arms against the Ottoman power could forget the wrong that Turkish sovereignty had inflicted upon them. In this respect this war was of the old-world type, when nations fought more or less entirely upon sentimental grounds. The modern wars are different. The main motive power in these is economic rather than purely political or patriotic. This motive no longer exists in Europe.

Basis of Present Rivalry

The present rivalry between the different European powers is really of non-European origin. If there is any general European war in our time, it will be caused by the scramble of

the European Powers over Asiatic and African carcasses.* The present incapacity, for purposes of self-defence and self-rule, of the Asiatic and African peoples, constitutes thus a very real and serious danger not only to their own independence, but, what is far more serious, even to the general peace and progress of the larger and more advanced humanity of our time. Every Asiatic or African people or country which is striving for its own freedom and consolidation and self organisation is, whether consciously or unconsciously, fighting therefore equally for the future peace and progress of the world.

From this point of view, the pan-Islamic movement is a movement that really makes not for disturbing but rather for ensuring and advancing the peace of the world. No statesman with any vision of the future can, therefore, refuse to sympathise with this movement and wish it godspeed. Those whose imagination cannot soar higher than the vision of a federation of the world dominated everywhere by the White races, will naturally smell danger and disaster in the progress of this pan-Islamic propaganda. And the narrow and selfish vision of these people constitutes, I think, the real danger of this pan-Islamic movement With friendly help and sympathetic direction of the world powers pan-Islamism may easily be a power for good even in the modern world. Above all, it requires a frank and honest recognition of the legitimate claims of Islam to readjust itself to the needs of modern thought and life and organise itself as a self-controlled and autonomous Federation of the Mussalman States of the world. The independence and integrity of Persia, Afghanistan and the Moslem principalities of Africa, as well as of the Ottoman Empire, must be maintained. This is the first condition for winning the confidence of Islam, without which this pan-Islamic force will never be guided and controlled by the leaders of modern world politics. The European Concert has unconsciously worked for a similar

*The real, as distinguished from the apparent, cause even of the present pan-European War is the secret ambition of Germany for a world-empire like that of Great Britain rather than the hopeless ambition of securing the suzerainty of Europe.

end in Europe. As a result the independence and integrity of the different European States, both small and large, have been fully assured. In their own self-interest the great Powers have had to do this.* In the interest of European peace itsef, a similar assurance is needed for the larger and smaller States of Asia and Africa also. These States must be fully modernised and consolidated and strengthened ; for upon their strength and advancement will ultimately depend the peace and progress of Europe and the World.

Pan-Islamism in India

Those who think that the recent defeat of Turkey in Europe has killed the backbone of pan-Islamism, seem to me to lack a thorough grasp of the psychology of this movement. In fact, all the recent troubles of the Ottoman Empire have been a veritable god-send to the pan-Islamist. He has exploited the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Moslem populations of the world on behalf of Turkey, in the interest of his pet idea. In one sense, the present pan-Islamic movement may be said to have originated in India. Thirty years ago, Jelaluddin came from Kabul to India, inspired with the vision of an all-world confederacy of the princes and peoples of Islam, that will rejuvenate it and give back to it the position that it once had as a moving and shaping force in human history and civilisation. He passed through India inoculating many a leader of Mahomedan thought in Calcutta and Bombay and other cities with this new virus. As a messenger of this gospel, Jelaluddin went from India to Egypt and Turkey. But the seed that he had sown among us grew in secret for over a quarter of a century. Its only outer manifestation was seen in a new self-consciousness of our Moslem neighbours, a new conceit of separate communal interests, and a new desire to revive, in the

*Even the present war has not falsified this conclusion ; and it is obvious that finally, whichever party wins, neither Belgium nor Serbia, nor any other smaller State that may be involved in this struggle, will lose their independence. The only State that may be completely wiped out of the map of Europe is Turkey, but even that is a very distant contingency.

name of purity, the old iconoclastic spirit of the Islamic faith and thereby to work up a new cleavage between the Mahomedans and their Hindu neighbours. The political conflicts between educated Moslems and Hindus were attributed to the natural jealousy of rival aspirants to office and rank, and the religious feuds to a desire to revive the orignal ideals of Islam and reorganise the old propagandist activities of that faith. But nobody ever suspected these as the slow and silent development of the seed that Jelaluddin had sown in his confidential conferences with the Moslem intellectuals of Calcutta and other places. Mr. Blunt refers to some of these conferences, especially to those held in Calcutta, at most of which Syed Amir Ali, then a member of the Ca'cutta Bar, was present—in his work 'India Under Ripon".

Things, however, commenced to move apace both in and outside India, which soon brought this pan-Islamic idea to the public view. In India the Indian National Congress at first, and the more virile Swadeshi Movement later on, quickened a self-consciousness in the country, and especially among the Hindu populations. The Swadeshi propaganda developed a particularly pronounced Hindu ideal, which was naturally interpreted by some at least of the Mahomedan leaders in the country as a distinct and real menace to their own political future. Had they thrown themselves heart and soul into this new Nationalist Movement in India, this excessive Hindu emphasis might have been easily removed. For then the Swadeshi Movement would have developed into a purely economic and political propaganda fully representative of the composite Indian people. But they held alocf. Many of them even set themselves up openly against this movement. The result was that the Hindu influences became predominant and the Hindu note the most pronounced in this new upheaval. It was perhaps well that this should have been so. For this Hindu Nationalism will gradually help the evolution of a real Federal Nationalism among us, which seems clearly to be the ideal-end and the ultimate aim of modern historic evolution in India. For the realisation of this federal ideal of Nationalism it is necessary that the different Indian communities,

representing different world-cultures, must evolve in their own way, along their own lines, preserving and developing to the full their respective personalities, be autonomous social units themselves, and then join the others, as members of a great Federation, which will present to the world a new and far more advanced and complex type of nationality than what the world has so far known. I have always read this as the one central aim of historic evolution in India. I do not, therefore, regret this Hindu emphasis of what in the nature of things was bound to be dominantly a Hindu movement. I do not regret that our Mahomedan friends practically kept away from it. But what I regret is their spirit of antagonism. What the situation really required of them, was the initiation of a real Moslem national movement, along parallel lines, moved by the same spirit, working for the same ultimate end, but organised in Islamic forms, with the symbols and sacraments familiar to higher Islamic thought and culture. But the Mahomedan leaders already bewitched by the vision of an all-world Islamic confederacy which pan-Islamism held out to their view, not only refused to do what was really needed as much in their as in our interest, but secretly commenced to exploit the unrest in the interest of this pan-Islamism. Lord Minto (who was the Viceroy and Governor-General of India during 1905-10 did not see through the game, and therefore easily played into the hands of the pan-Islamic leaders.

Pan-Islamism Not Religious But Political

The Turko-Italian conflict of 1911-12 while giving a new impetus to pan-Islamism, particularly in India, helped also to bring out its true motive and character before all the world. Encouraged by the success of his game of bluff in the matter of the Indian Council Reforms, Syed Amir Ali now almost openly avowed his allegiance to pan-Islamism, while his following commenced to exploit the natural sympathy of the Indian Mussalman with the Ottoman Government in their conflict with Italy, in the interest of this propaganda.

The bond that binds the followers of Mahomed together is not a political but absolutely and exclusively a religious and

spiritual bond. One Moslem prince or community may fight another Moslem prince or community without doing outrage to the Islamic fraternity. In any case, they have frequently done so in the past, in this country and elsewhere. Even the Ottoman throne itself is reared upon such a fratricidal feud. If the power of the Mogul had lasted till our day, and Delhi had become the seat of one of the great world-powers, there would have been no religious obligation whatever to side with Turkey as against Italy in the last war. The religious obligations would come not merely to side with, but even to fight for Turkey unto death itself, if the holy places of Islam were threatened with possession by the Kaffir, and Turkey stood up for their defence. Neither Tunis nor Tripoli, neither Adrianpole nor Istamboul are counted as the holy places of Islam. No Mussalman is bound by his religion to defend and keep these temporal and profane cities in the possession of any Moslem potentate. The appeal to the Indian Mussalman both during the Tripoli and the Balkan war, on behalf or Turkey, was, not, therefore, really based on religious but only on purely secular and political grounds. And the politics that worked at the back of these agitations was purely pan-Islamic.

Out of Their Own Mouth

That I am not misinterpreting the aims and scope of pan-Islamism is proved by the public confession of faith of a staunch pan-Islamist, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar*, who has contributed an article on "Indian Mussalmans and Pan-Islamism" to Mr. Jalal Nuri's book—"Ittihad-i-Islam," where it appears as a separate chapter. Says Mr. Khan :—

"The talented author of this elegant work has invited me to contribute to it a few pages descriptive of the so called Pan-Islamic movement from an Indian Moslem's point of view. The invitation, coming as it does from a publicist of such versatile genius as Jalal Nuri, is an honour of which I am deeply sensible ; and in the following lines I propose to discuss Pan-Islamism, as it is understood by the Moslems of India

who are destined to exercise a great influence on the future of Islam.

"Etymologically the expression Pan-Islamism claims a comparatively recent origin. It was coined by Christian diplomacy to serve as a scurvy pretext for the spoliation of the fast decaying Moslem States. To the man in the street Pan-Islamism was synonymous with a gigantic union of the Moslems of the world having for its cherished object the extermination of Christianity as a living political force As long a Morocco, a Tripoli, a Persia, or a Macedonia had to be grabbed, the bogey of Pan-Islamism was a most useful adjunct. It helped the stalwarts of Christendom to constantly confront their fanatical dupes with an imaginary peril, the bare possibility of which was to be removed by depriving the Moslem of his hearth and home With the dismemberment, absorption or annexation of almost all the independent Moslem States by the Powers of Europe and with the poor remnants of the integrity of Turkey and Afghanistan trembling in the balance, Christian thinkers have not at present much to say about this over-exploited theme. The time, however, is not far distant when the new life given to the Moslem communities of the world by the terrible events of the past few years may actuate the political theorists of Christian Europe to saddle the Moslems with the revival of the old plot to blow up Europe Nowhere have these events been followed by an outburst of feeling so genuine in its manifestation and so universal in its character as in India ; and it is no exaggeration to say that the bombardment of Meshed by the Russians, the descent of Italy on Tripoli, the onslaught of the Balkan Allies on Turkey, with all their attendant horrors, have made the Moslems of India a changed people.

"Divested of the mischievous conception in which Western Machiavellianism has clothed it and used it as a convenient mode of expression. Pan-Islamism is not a new force, but is as old as Islam itself. The first lesson of Pan-Islamism was given by the Qoran when it said :

'Verily all Moslems are brethren unto each other'.

"The Prophet's definition of Pan-Islamism will never grow old 'A Moslem's relation to another Moslem', exclaimed the Sarwat-i-Kainat, 'may be likened to that of the two hands which wash each other.' The universal brotherhood founded by Islam is a moral binding force which has no equal. Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism and many other 'isms' of that ilk are only ethnic ebullitions of a territorial character. The brotherhood of Islam, or Pan-Islamism if you will, transcends all considerations of race and class and is of an extra-territoral type in which all the Moslem populations of the world merge their geographical identity and become one nation. During the two months that I have been in Constantinople it has been one of my studied endeavours to bring this cardinal fact home to all the men of light and leading with whom I have come in contact, and it gives me great satisfaction to realise that the six hundred years' intercourse with European civilization has failed to produce any appreciable change in Turkey's conception of Moslem nationality. Just as the Indian Moslems think that they are Moslems first and Indians afterwards, so the scores of Mussalmans of all grades and sections with whom I had occasion to talk on the subject assured me that they were Moslems fiirst and Ottomans afterwards. It is in this conception of the universality of the Moslem brotherhood that lies the chief strength of the Pan-Islamic movement, and the Moslems of India are among the foremost to realise it.

"The object of Pan-Islamism, for aught that Christian writers may yet have to say to the contrary, is not to cherish projects of an aggressive nature against Christendom in spite of all that it has done to exterminate Islam, but to act purely on the defensive and to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once splendid Empire, against further encroachments. In this work of defence Turkey has hitherto been single-handed, but such will no longer be the case. The combined attack of Christian Europe against the integrity of Islam and the covert and overt desigas of the Western Powers against the remnant of Turkey have made too deep an impression upon the mind of the Moslems to be easily effaced. They have accordingly made up their mind to stand by Turkey through thick and thin, and mindful

of the saying of their blessed Prophet who declared :—'A Moslem is unto another Moslem as a wall which is propped up by its various parts'—they will do all that they can to co-operate with Turkey, whose political extinction means their own annihilation. This co-operation need not upset the Christian alarmists. It has nothing in common with the alleged triple alliance negotiated between Japan, China and Siam, which necessitates, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, a probable proposal in the near future on the part of the Russian Tsar, to form a European combination strong enough to crush the yellow races and ensure the perpetual supremacy of the Western Powers in Asia. The co-operation of the Moslems of the world with the Caliphate which has now come to be recognized throughout the Islamic world as a revivified moral force essential to the maintenance of the *status quo* of Islam, will be intellectual and economic in its bearings. Islam is destined to play a great part yet in the political evolution of the world, and those who can think have arrived at the conclusion that the revival of Islam is to be heralded not by the thunder of guns and the flashing of bayonets but by the creation of universities and the establishment of banks. This is to be the Pan-Islamism of the future and, *Inshaallah*, it will achieve its object."

What Does it Mean ?

It is impossible to read this frank declaration of faith of the Pan-Islamist without being impressed by its essentially political character. The religious reference is feeble and flimsy compared to its pronounced political aims and ends. It is not merely 'the brotherhood of Islam' that is propagated here; but every credal and missionary religious fraternity in the world transcends all 'considerations of race and colour.' It is the same with the Christian and Buddhist brotherhoods as with the Moslem brotherhood. All Christians religiously and spiritually are no less brothers to one another than are all Mussalmans. But though an extra-territorial character may be legitimately claimed for the Christian brotherhood as for the Moslem brotherhood, it betrays a very sad confusion of thought to claim it for any nation, whether Christian or

Moslem The Moslem populations of the world were never, after the first few years of the Caliphate spent in Medina and its neighbourhood, one nation. Unity of State-life, based upon unity of territorial possessions, constitutes the very soul and essence of the nation-idea. Even a federal nation fulfils this elementary condition. An imperial federation may transcend territorial limitations and be extra-territorial ; but even then it must be built and worked upon some unity of state-life and state-organisation. A nation indeed is not a term of the purely religious life There is such a thing as Christian or Moslem or Buddhist or Hindu fraternity ; but nothing as a Christian or a Moslem or Buddhist nation, meaning all Christians or all Moslems or all Buddhists. There may be such a thing as a Hindu nation, because all Hindus of our time have one common state-authority and belong to one state-organisation. Had China and Japan and Australia and South America been peopled by Hindus we would never have used the term Hindu nation as we do now. In fact, the writer completely gives the religious plea away when he comes to close quarters, and declares that "the object of Pan-Islamism..... is not to cherish projects of an aggressive nature against Christendom...... . *but to act purely on the defensive and to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once splendid Empire against further encroachments.*" The italics are mine : and the words italicised bring out the political motive of Pan-Islamism clearly.

Its Legitimate Aspirations

In fact, even an 'aggressive propaganda against Christendom' which the Pan-Islamist is so anxious to disclaim, might have been interpreted in a purely religious sense. To convert the Kaffir is as much a duty of the Moslem as to convert the heathen is recognised to be a duty of the Christian. And the Moslem communities of the world may, with absolute right and justice, combine to build up an international and all-world organisation for this purpose. They may do so for the protection of the socio-religious ideals of the Islamic church and Moslem culture against the onslaughts of a dominant all-conquering Christian ethical, social and economic system. Pan-Islamism may very ligitimately pursue these ethical and

cultural ends. Islam is not an altogether dead force even in the modern world. It is pregnant with large possibilities. The full and free development of these possibilities would be a distinct gain to modern humanity, and perhaps to none would this gain be greater than to Christendom itself. The spirit of Islam is essentially democratic, and its economy is fundamentally socialistic. Islam is, I believe, the only world-religion that has never advocated monastic or monkish disciplines but that has yet always striven to reach a very lofty attitude of mental and spiritual disattachment towards the things of this world. The religious history of Islam is crowded with noble examples of men and women who neither tormented the flesh or renounced the world on the one side, nor clung to the things of this earth, either to wealth or to rank or position or even to family and friends, with the unbelieving tanacity of the ordinary man of the world, on the other. All these are precious legacies of Islamic culture. The modern world needs them very badly for its own salvation. With a view to share her glorious moral and spiritual inheritance with the other communities of the world, Islam must be raised out of her present helpless and dependent position. She must first be able to look the modern world horizontally into the face. The preservation of the autonomy and sovereign independence of the existing Mahomedan States, whether in Europe or Asia or Africa, is one of the essential conditions of this. This is, indeed, the first condition. And the next is the modernisation of these independent Moslem States. Popular freedom and democratic political institutions, both of which are in such perfect accord with the spirit of the teachings of the Prophet, must be helped to grow in these free Moslem countries, and they must be equipped, in the fullest possible measure, with every kind of modern knowledge and organisation and scientific appliances for their military protection and economic prosperity. All these are needed as much in the interest of Islam as in the interest of the larger life of modern humanity. All these are legitimate and laudable objects for which the Islamic communities of the world may, and indeed, should unite. With this moral and spiritual pan-Islamic propaganda, every one, with a correct appreciation of the

course of modern historic evolution, and a vision of that Universal Federation towards which all countries and nations are unmistakably moving—must fully sympathise. They may even be prepared to actively co-operate with Islam in the promotion of these objects, so far as such co-operation may be helped or be practicable. But the unity of Islam is based upon the distinctive character of the socio-religious ideals presented by the Prophet. It is a cultural, which means a moral and spiritual bond. The true conception of the universal brotherhood of Islam is not merely 'extra-territorial', as the present writer contends, but it is extra-political as well.

Danger of Political Pan-Islamism

Yet the ideal of Pan-Islamism presented here is clearly political. Its avowed object is, we are told, 'to act on the defensive to protect what little remains to the Moslems of their once splendid Empire.' In the earlier centuries of the Hizeera, political sovereignty and ascendancy were to some extent essential conditions of the very self-preservation of Islam even as a religious culture and community. It may even be held that in some countries at least political expansion was forced upon the Moslems by outer circumstances which they neither deliberately sought nor could absolutely control. But that necessity does not exist at all in our time And to speak of the 'splendid Empire' of the Moslems, in the singular number, betrays deliberate forgetfulness or unpardonable ignorance. It may serve the ends of the political pan-Islamist and for that very reason this false suggestion is exceedingly mischievious. Except in the very infancy of the Califate, the Moslems were never under any one single political authority. The Moslem sovereigns never recognised any fraternal obligations with their Moslem neighbours or rivals in fighting them whenever they wanted or dared to do so. They did these things very freely even in the heyday of what this writer calls 'their once splendid Empire.' This old earth has known other splendid empires, both ancient and mediaeval, than that of the Moslems. The Hellenes and the Romans or Italians, and even our own Parsis had splendid empires of their own in ancient

times. The Moghuls and the French in India had their splendid empires in the middle ages. And what a menace would it be to world-peace and our present world-civilisation if the scattered remnants of these ancient races or nations, now merged peacefully into the various modern nationalities of the world, were to start so many different pan-imperial propaganda, for reviving by their combined efforts, the last glories of their 'once splendid empires' And this is exactly the irresistible logic of a political pan-Islamic propaganda such as is preached here. This political pan-Islamism is a distinct challenge to every non-Moslem state authority holding sway over Moslem populations. It is a standing menace to the peace of every people composed partly of non-Moslem and partly of Moslem communities.

The Logic of Political Pan-Islamism

Nor is it easy to see how this pan-Islamism can hope to secure this end without very seriously weakening the legitimate and natural allegiance of every pan Islamist to the non-Moslem Governments under which they nay be living, whether in India or Egypt. It is all very well to say that this pan-Islamism seeks to realise its ends by purely peaceful methods, through the organisation of universities and industries but we all know that empires are neither built up nor preserved by these innocent weapons Universities may initiate the Mussalman into the secrets of science, and industries may help him to the acquisition of wealth but these, of themselves, will not equip him with the modern implements of war or organise invincible Moslem armies, the two things which still determine the fates of kingdoms and empires. The only possible line of work for the political pan-Islamism must lie, therefore, (*i*) in creating a pan-Islamic sentiment among the Moslem populations of the world by appealing to their religious passions ; (*ii*) in helping them to the acquisition of modern scientific knowledge both for economic end military ends ; (*iii*) in helping the organisation of a modern army and a modern navy fully equipped with the most advanced instruments and methods of modern warfare, with the knowledge and wealth thus acquired, in those independent Moslem States where this can be done safely and

freely ; (*iv*) in helping to preserve the independence and integrity of these States until they are fully equipped and organised by securing on their behalf the moral support of the immense Moslem populations that are subject, for the time being, to the political authority of non-Moslem governments or peoples ; (*v*) in the event of any conflict between these latter and any Moslem State or States, in embarassing these non-Moslem Governments by the organised passive resistance or open revolt of their Moslem subjects, and aiming ultimately even at their complete overthrow. These are the only conceivable means by which this political pan-Islamism can hope to "keep to the Moslems the remnants of their once glorious Empire." All these, from the organisation of universities and industries to the incitement of revolts, are parts of an organic whole. By themselves, working separately, none of these have any appreciable worth so far as the object of pan-Islamism, as enunciated here, is concerned. Thus, the moment we subject it to a searching analysis, we find what a serious menance this political pan-Islamism, as distinguished from what may be called religious or cultural pan-Islamism, is to the peace and progress of modern humanity in general and of those countries in particular where there is, as in India, a mixed population of Moslems and non-Moslems.

Not Imaginary Danger to India

Nor, so far at least as India is concerned, is this menace either imaginary or very distant. It seems to me that if one were to construct a chronological story of the present cleavage between the Mahomedans and the Hindus and subject the facts and data thus collected to a critical psychological analysis, it would be found that this pan-Islamism in one shape or another has been partly responsible for it. Owing to its long contact with Hinduism, Indian Islam had developed a spirit of toleration of other faiths and practices than those of the Quoran, such as was and is unknown to Islam in perhaps any other part of the world. The Mahomedan masses, especially in Bengal, even associated themselves, so far as may be, with the current ceremonialism of their Hindu neighbours. They frequently

made *pujas* to the Hindu's gods and goddesses through Hindu priests in Hindu houses, even as the Hindus went and made offerings, with due faith and reverence, to Moslem *pirs* or saints at Moslem *dargas* or mausoleums. All these had practically killed the possibility of any permanent religious feuds between the two communities But the missionaries of a new purist movement in Indian Islam revived the old iconoclastic spirit of the Moslem faith, and worked up first a religious cleavage and gradually, as this new enthusiasm grew, a new religious antagonism between these two sections of the Indian community. How far this new purist movement in the Mahomedan community in India was inspired, either partly or wholly or directy or indirecty by pan-Islamism, cannot be said, and perhaps will never be known. But that this propaganda became very active since the early eighties of the last century is well-known Jalauddin passed through India early in the eighties, and the attitude of aloofness of the educated Mahomedans of India from the political activities of their Hindu fellow-countrymen was, I think, openly and avowedly taken up gradually soon after his visit. I still remember the memorable utterance of Sir Syed Ahmad at a reception held in his honour at the house of Babus Pyare Mohan and Hari Mohan Roy in Calcutta, when the Syed was on a visit to this city, 1876 or 1877, in which he compared the Hindus and the Mahomedans of Hindustan to the two eyes and the two hands of a man. It was really the same metaphor which Mahomed had himself used in speaking of the Islamic brotherhood. It is notorious how rapidly this spirit and attitude was changed and the revered Syed openly set himself up as an antagonist to the Indian nationalist movement, then represented by the Indian National Congress. We attributed it at the time to the influence of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. That influence was no doubt at work, but though it may explain something, it cannot explain everything in the history of this conflict between educated Hindus and educated Mahomedans which grew along with the Congress agitation. The pan-Islamic spirit was at least partly responsible for it.

Attitude of Indian Nationalism

The sinister logic of this political pan-Islamism comes out most prominently, however, in its attitude towards nationalism. In purely Moslem countries like, for instance, Persia or Turkey or even Egypt, though perhaps in a lesser degree, nationalism is practically identical in its ultimate ends and objects with this pan-Islamism. In fact, so far as these "remnants of the once glorious Empire" of Islam, as Mr. Zafar Ali Khan puts it here, are concerned, perhaps their only chance of life lies in the support that they may get from pan-Islamism. Both Turkish and Persian Nationalists may naturally think that their only hope of safety lies in the timely development of a world-wide confederacy of the followers of the Prophet, the moral pressure of which, if not its physical strength, might be brought to bear on the policy of their enemies. But in India Islam as a political force stands upon an altogether different footing. Not merely in point of numbers, but equally also in general education and wealth, the Indian Mahomedans are decidedly behind the Hindu populations of the country. Nationalism in India, even if it works upon its legitimate composite character and constitution, and makes the fullest possible accommodation for the free play and fulfilment of the special character of Islamic culture, as an organic element of Indian as distinguished from Hindu Nationalism, would never mean for the followers of Islam what Nationalism means in Persia or Turkey for their Persian or Turkish coreligionists. In Persia or Turkey the Mussalmans practically represent the whole nation or state. In India they can never represent more than a part of it. And this fact hurts the conceit of the Moslem leaders of India. The pan-Islamic idea, well-nursed, unconsciously by the short-sighted policy of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, has developed the unhealthy habit in the leaders of the Mahomedan community of India, of nursing in their hearts the memories of their lost political position in the country. They have been distinctly encouraged by foolish Anglo-Indian officials and scribes to cherish the falsehood that the supreme political authority in India passed from the hands of the Moghul directly on to those of the British. They have been led to completely ignore

the fact that the insignia of imperial rule in India had already slipped away from the enfeebled hands of the Moghul to those of the Sikhs on the one side, and of the Mahrattas on the other, when the British stretched out their hands to grasp it. But for the advent and intervention of the British, the supreme political authority in this country would have been held today either by the Sikhs or by the Maharattas or it would have been divided between these two Hindu powers. But all this is very conveniently forgotten. By openly encouraging the Indian Mahomedans to forget or ignore these things, and by pandering to the vanity of the Moslem leaders by giving them preferential treatment in the constitution of the recently "reformed Councils", the British Government have unwittingly helped to strengthen the pan-Islamic sentiment in this country. And all these have led the pan-Islamic propaganda in India to openly set itself up as an enemy of Indian Nationalism.

Blame of Nationalist Leadership

Nor can the Indian Nationalists absolutely absolve themselves of all responsibility for this unfortunate state of things. If the Moslem leaders tried to wipe out the memories of the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, the Hindu Nationalist leaders also sought to revive them. It was no doubt a supreme psychological need of the Nationalist propaganda : and so far as these memories were revived to recreate the self-confidence of a people suffering from a state of listless inertia, they did only good and no harm. But the effect of this revival did not stop here. It gradually awoke : at least in a section of the Nationalists, the foolish and suicidal ambition of once more re-establishing either a single Hindu State or a confederacy of Hindu States in India. Some people thus secretly interpreted Swaraj as Hindu Raj. And this folly is also to some extent responsible for the antagonism, in any case, of the sober section of our Moslem fellow. countrymen towards our Nationalist ideals and activities, and thus it lent unconsciously considerable support to the pan-Islamic propaganda among almost all classes of educated Mahomedans.

Is It Confusion of Thought—or What ?

But whatever its historic origin or its psychological justification, the sinister logic of this political pan-Islamism cannot be disguised and should not be ignored. These implications are clearly brought out in the very statement regarding the aims and scope of pan-Islamism, as presented here by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. And what is most important in this connection is that Mr. Khan repeats what accredited leaders of the movement like the Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali and others have frequently said. I refer to the dictum that the Indian Mussalman is first a Moslem and then an Indian. Either it betrays a most woeful confusion of thought, unworthy of the intellectual leaders of a great world-movement, or it has a very sinister meaning behind it. The term Indian is either a geographical or a political term. It connotes either the place of birth or residence of the human who calls himself by this name ; or it connotes his political or state-life and relations. As an Indian, a person is either a native of India, or a subject of the Government of India (like the statutory Indians) or both. This is all that the world Indian means, and absolutely nothing else, neither his race nor his caste nor his creed. On the other hand, the term Mahomedan is a term that connotes only a religious fact, that the person calling himself such belongs to a particular religious community. It does not connote his geographical habitat or his political associations and obligations. And when a person says, therefore, that he is a Mahomedan first and an Indian next, all that be can mean by it is that his religious associations and obligations must have absolute precedence over his political associations and obligations. In other words, his allegiance to the non-Moslem State of which he may be a subject or a citizen, must give way to his allegiance to the Moslem peoples and princes of the world, when these two come into conflict with each other. This is the necessary logic of that political pan-Islamism which is evidently represented by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and Syed Amir Ali and the Moslem League. And as such it is an enemy of Indian Nationalism in its truest and broadest sense. And the real cure of this mischievous religio-political movement, so far at any rate as India and Egypt are

concerned, must be found in the evolution of a true Nationalist Ideal and the constitution of a Federal Government of India, forming part, as an equal among equals, of the larger Federatign of the present British Empire.

THE POSITIVE VALUE OF NATIONALISM

Has Nationalism any Positive Va'ue ?

This question has been raised by an esteemed English friend, well-known in London literary circles, and a frequent contributor to British magazines. In acknowledging the first number of the "Hindu Review"* he wrote : "To say that in any change a nation ought to be true to its own personality, to preserve continuity with its past, does not seem to me to take us very far in practice. Nationalism as a guide for practice seems to me very much like the principle of self-realisation in the sphere of individual conduct—to have a negative and restraining rather than a positive value. The principle of self-realisation does not tell the individual, which of all the potential and competing selves in him, he is to realise; it only tells him that one characteristic of the right line of conduct will be that it will correspond with his special temperament. It is a notice-board warning him off any line which is essentially uncongenial to his best self. Just so, the principle of nationalism does not tell the nation which elements in its present life it is to suppress and which it is to develop ; it merely declares that one characteristic of the right course—whatever of all possible courses that may be—is that it will be in harmony with the nation's essential genius, and that any course which has not this characteristic is therefore wrong. And I rather think that both in the case of the individual and the nation, self consciousness is rather a hindrance in dealing with the concrete problems of thought and conduct. A man, for instance, confronted with a new idea, ought rather to ask—'Is this true ?' than 'Is it in conformity with my temperament for me to believe this ?' If he, so far as in him lies, believes what is true and does what

*Started by Bipin Chandra Pal in Calcutta in 1913.

is good, his individuality will take care of itself. If a nation pursues the true and the good, there will be no danger of its specific personality being lost, any more than the distinctive individual note is lost in the work of an artist who strives to realise certain ideas with perhaps entire self-forgetfulness. This means that, in practice, each problem of thought and conduct has to be treated on its own merits—'Is it true?' 'Is it good?—and the individual and the nation who answer these questions right will, in the very act, realise their best self, whether they do so consciously or not."

The Psychology of National Activities

I am exceedingly thankful to my English friend for this criticism. The views expressed in it are held, I know, by a large body of educated people, not only in his but in our country also. A discussion of the issues raised by him will, therefore, be helpful to the study of the philosophy of nationalism. And the first thing that occurs to me, on reading this note, is that my correspondent seems to think here really in the abstract. Both his truth and his good have an air of abstraction about them. For, practically, neither individuals nor nations, as a rule, deliberately refuse to accept that which they know and believe to be true. Acceptance of any truth is an act of the intellect; and it follows immediately we know it as true. Avowal or public confession of it is another thing. We may or may not avow what we believe to be true, but we cannot help believing it, when it satisfies our reason. To *accept* a thing as good is also an act of the intellect, though *pursing* it practically, *translating* it into life and conduct, is not an act of the intellect but of the will. And our will does not stand or act in isolation from our other faculties. Our will really follows the line of resultant of all the various and complex forces, intellectual and emotional, that act and react upon one another and struggle for mastery, immediately we are called upon to choose and select any particular course of action out of a number of rival and competing courses. Individuals may, and oftentimes do, follow a wrong course knowing it to be wrong. But I do not believe nations ever

do it or, indeed, can do it. For real national movements are always automatic. The movements of masses whether of men or of matter are not really deliberative and conscious, like those of individuals, but are impulsive, automatic and unconscious. Social movements are due to the action and interaction of social forces, and not to the deliberate and considered choice of the individuals who compose the social whole. It is no doubt conceivable that when we shall reach the millennium, and men shall be moved always and only by reason, social movements may be determined by the considered choice of the members of the society. But in our present state, at any rate, nations and communities act impulsively and unconsciously, by the collective force of their passing passions or fixed prejudice. Social activities are acts, not of considered and deliberate choice, but really of what may be called unconscious celebration. Society accepts that only as true which is in perfect consonance with the sum total of its intellectual, moral, economic, political and spiritual life and experience. New truths and ideas seeking acceptance from any nation or community must fit themselves into the general scheme and philosophy of life of that nation or community. This is how Christianity spread in Europe. Before it could be acceptable to the Greeko-Roman culture which ruled the dominant nations of Europe then, it had to adopt, as part of its own theology, the philosophy of Greece, and as part of its own ethics, the legalism of Rome. Our own Hinduism had to do the same thing in propagating itself among the other cultures of ancient India. And in view of these facts, how can we say that the value of nationalism is not positive, but rather negative ? The warning sign-board position of nationalism would have been true to fact, if nations exercised conscious and considered choice in the determination of their courses of action. But they don't do it. They simply follow unconsciously the impulse of their own nature or personality ; which means, in other words, the spirit of their nationalism, the genius of their social organism ; and in so doing, automatically preserve continuity with their own past.

But my correspondent was perhaps thinking here not of the nation, but of its leaders, of those men of thought and

action, who educate the nation's intellect, inspire the nation's ideals and emotions, and initiate, direct and control the economic or political life of the nation by deliberately introducing new instruments, organisations and vehicles of that life. And the question before them should not be, what is in consonance with the past, but what is required for the present life of the nation. Quite so. These men should always, and above all, ask themselves, in inclucating new ideas or initiating new organisations and activities —'are the ideas true?'—'are the organisations and activities good?' But even here, whether the ideas which they believe to be true will be accepted as such by their nation, will depend not on considerations of their abstract logic or reasonableness, but upon their affinities with the general intellectual life and traditions of their nation: and whether the nation will adopt their new organisations and activities, will be determined not by their abstract justice or general utility but by the actual, inner needs of the social organism itself. That which the social organism needs for its own self preservation it accepts, irrespective of all considerations as to whether it is true or false, noble or ignoble. That which has no reference to this supreme n ed, it either indifferently brushes aside or violently throws out. No organism, neither animal nor social, affects pure superfluities. These are commonplace observations. The real practical difficulty does not arise in those cases where there is a slow and gradual assimilation of a new, and possibly higher thought or civilisation by a lower culture It arises only when there is a conflict of competing thoughts and cultures, both occupying an advanced and developed stage of evolution. It is, evidently, cases like these that my correspondent has here in his mind. But even here, can we reasonably say that the value of nationalism, in practice, is more negative than positive?

A Practical Question

Take, for instance, our own case in India. There is a very keen conflict of civilisations among us just now. On the one hand, there is our own ancient culture with its special and

specialised ideals and institutions. These ideals and institutions are the growth of ages. They are the fruits of our specific national genius or race-consciousness, stimulated and controlled by our natural environments on the one side, and our contacts, conflicts and associations with other nations and races during different epochs of our past history on the other. These ideals and institutions aim at certain results which have been the special quest of all our social endeavours. On the other hand, there is the new culture, which the British rulers of the country have brought to us with them. That too is the growth of ages. That also aims at certain results which have been the quest of all *their* social endeavour for countless years. But the characters of these two cultures are different. In fact, it may even be said that the key-notes of these two civilisations are in more or less conflict with one another. Fellowship, for instance, as Bishop Carpenter pointed out many years ago, is the key-note of Hinduism. Legalism, on the other hand, is the key-note of Christianity. Collectivism or socialism, in the widest sense of the term, is the key-note of our social organisation. Individualism is the key-note of modern European social economy. Co-operation is the key-note of our economic life. Competition is the key-note of that of Europe. The way of renunciation has been our eternal way. That of assertion and appropriation has been the way of Europe. The conflict between our civilisation and this new civilisation from Europe, is undeniable. At the same time, it can hardly be denied that this new and imported culture is more attractive than our old, indigenous ideals. The former appeals oftentimes to those instincts and impulses which the latter had noted as lower and had tried to keep under the strictest control, if not to altogether suppress. The temptation before us to go after this new gilded god is, therefore, very great. There are higher elements in European culture, I know. Christianity has developed, after its own manner, as high and superior types of manhood as have been developed, after our own kind, among us. I admit all this. But still we cannot ignore the fact that the immediate appeal of the civilisation of Europe is to man's instincts and appetites more than to his reason and his spiritual life. And if we succumb to the

temptation, it will mean a complete annihilation of the specific character of our culture. And if we lose that character our title to live as a nation among the other nations of the modern world will be gone. The question with us, as a nation is—are we to live or are we to die ? It is not a question whether, as between our ideals and theirs, which is true and which is false ; for neither is absolutely true nor absolutely false. Nor is it a question as to which of these cultures is good and which evil ; for neither is absolutely good nor absolutely evil. There is a mixture of truths, half-truths, fancies and falsehoods, as much in our thoughts, speculations, philosophies and religions, as in those of Europe. Some institutions are good, some indifferent, some bad here as well as there. The most vital question therefore is, how to save our own culture and civilisation from being swamped by the imported ideals and institutions of this new and forceful civilisation that has come to us with the foreign rulers of the country.

Htndu Caste and European Class

Let us take a very concrete case to illustrate what I mean. In India, among the Hindus, we have very rigid caste-divisions. Apparently, these divisions, bassd entirely and absolutely upon mere accidents of birth, are unjust. They are a distinct violation of the highest spiritual truth, that all men are made in the image of their Maker, are children, so to say, of the same Father, and therefore brotherhood of man is a rudimentary principle of modern European social philosophy. To realise this universal fraternity is the ideal-end of every social, economic or political endeavour in present-day Europe and America. This gospel appeals naturally to us also here in India. In the light of this ideal, we recognise the wrong and the ugliness of our age-old caste-exclusiveness. Our social reformers, from Keshub Chunder Sen downwards, have entered their protest against these caste-divisions. Some of us have openly repudiated these and broken away, consequently, from the old and orthodox community. But what is the result ? With larger experience of life we find that social distinctions cannot be so easily and summarily eliminated

from any conceivable social economy. There are these distinctions even in England and America, where there is nothing like our caste-system. Here, in India, we have caste-distinctions: there, in Europe and America, they have class-distinctions. Neither here nor there have we any real social equality. The ideal of human brotherhood is as yet an unrealised ideal as much in caste-ridden Hindusthan as it is in class divided Christendom. Yet in both the countries persistent attempts have been made from of old to realise it. The highest spirits both among Hindus and Christians have preached against these social inequalities, and have sought to override these distinctions in their own life and conduct. The Brahmin has sat at the feet of the Pariah and has acknowledged him as his *Guru* The Pandit has been always taught to look upon the "untouchable" Chandala and the sacred "Brahmin" with the same eye. But notwithstanding all these, we have still these caste-divisions among us, as they have their own class-divisions in Christendom. At one time, we thought that because there was no caste in England or America, the ideal of human brotherhood had been fairly, if not fully, realised there. We felt the inconvenience of our caste-rules, which interfered with the freedom of our individual movement and social intercourse. They interfered with our personal comforts. We could not drink water, out of everybody's hands nor take food, however clean or inviting, that was not cooked by men of our own or of a superior caste. The Englishman or the American has not to suffer these inconveniences. They are not subject to these irksome restraints. They are absolutely free in the matter of eating and drinking. And all these at one time appealed very powerfully to us. All these personal comforts and conveniences, due to the absence of any strict social or socio-religious restrictions upon eating and drinking and even marriage among non-Hindus, added, I am sure, a good deal, however unconsciously to us it may be, to our enthusiasm for this and similar social reforms. The ideal of human brotherhood is, undoubtedly, a very noble and lofty ideal; it is a great spiritual truth. But its real spiritual appeal could only touch those whose spiritual life had been truly developed. To us, who were still living in the lower carnal plane, the appeal of this new gospel of human brotherhood and equality, was

not to our higher spiritual, but only to our lower animal nature. Food-desire and sex-desire are declared by our sages and saints to be the strongest in all humans. Caste restrictions interfered very seriously and at every step in our social life and activities, with the free and unrestricted play and fulfilment of these two common human appetites. The immediate effect of the gospel of human equality, as preached by the European Illumination, which our British rulers brought to us, was to proclaim and procure our freedom from the unnatural and irksome restraints imposed by our castes upon these two—the strongest of all our appetites. We idealised a lot, undoubted ly. Our protest against caste, whatever its inner and unconscious psychology, was not altogether carnal. There was a very large element of youthful idealism at the back of it. But still we were striving after a social utopia. We were longing for a social equality which does not exist anywhere in the world. We broke through caste, broke away from the old and orthodox communion, in search of a social arrangement where there shall be no distinction between man and man except that which is due to each individual's personal character or intellectual, moral and spiritual acquisitions. Honestly speaking, we have not found it yet : we do not, indeed, expect to find it ever : not at any rate along the road we took in breaking away from our old society. In place of the old divisions of caste, we have set up, even in our advanced and reformed community, new divisions of class, after the manner of England and America. Our old caste divisions were based upon birth; these new class distinctions are based upon money and official or professional rank. The man who had the blood of the Brahmin in him could claim special privileges in the old society, he could commit many wrongs with impunity. The person who owns a large balance in his bank can and does claim similar privileges and has his sins similarly condoned in the new and reformed community. Poverty was never a crime or disqualification in the social code of the old community, it is becoming—if it has not already become—so in the new community. And when one calmly thinks over these actualities and their serious moral and spiritual implications, one cannot gather up enough courage to claim that our

present "reformed" condition is intrinsically better than our old state ; or that the new social economy and arrangement carry us nearer to the ideal of human brother-hood and human equality than the old and orthodox arrangement did.

Irrelevant Issues

The fact of the matter really is, that neither our caste-system nor their class-system is absolutely rational or good. My correspondent's questions—Is it true ? Is it good ?—cannot be answered without any reservation in the case of either of these two social systems. Nor is it easy to determine which of these is comparatively better. Neither our old theocratic social economy, nor their modern democratic social economy, embodies the highest social ideal. Both are equally imperfect. If one has some advantages in one direction, the other has similar advantages in another direction. Both are a mixture of truths and half-truths, of good and evil. Both are merely tentative and distinctly experimental. And, what is most significant of all, both have latent in them the same ultimate ideal-end, namely, to help gradually to bring out the God in man. Consequently, there is neither room nor need for either borrowing or lending in organic social evolution. For Humanity is one. This Humanity is the whole. The different nations are limbs and parts of this whole. But it is not a numerical, but an organic whole. Humanity is an organism. The different nations are its organs. The whole is implied in the parts : the organism in its organs. Humanity is implicit, therefore, in every racial or national unit, as much as in every individual human. Racial and national evolution has only one end and meaning, namely, to make explicit in the life and thought of each race or nation, the ideal of Humanity that is ever present and implicit in it. India has, therefore, no rational need to borrow anything from Europe, any more than Europe has any need to borrow anything from India. There is really no exchange or barter, strictly speaking, as a result of the contact of one civilisation with another. What actually happens is that each stimulates in the other those elements that are more developed in the one and less developed in the other. The

process is educative, not commercial. It is the universal process of all human intercourse. The company of bad people does no inject their evil into me, but only draws out the evil that lay latent within myself. Association with good and noble men and women does not actually communicate their goodness or nobility to me, but simply and really, stimulates and quickens the nobler and diviner elements of my own life and character. Those who have not the seeds of any particular evil in them never suffer, therefore, by being thrown into the company of people who have that particular evil fully developed in them. Similarly, those who have not any particular type of goodness or virtue latent in them, remain absolutely uneffected by even the closest and most constant association with others who have that particular goodness or virtue fully developed in them. These are matters of very common experience. And all these show that there is really neither room nor need for any borrowing or lending in organic social or individual evolution. And it follows, as a matter of course, therefore, that the questions "It it true ?" —Is it good ?"—do not and cannot arise in the case of nations or races, forced by historic circumstances into any contact or conflict with other nations or races.

Individual and National Psychology

These questions very frequently arise, in the case of individuals standing face to face with any new thought or ideal. But we should not forget that the psychology of the indivitual human unit is not exactly the same as that of nations and communities. Indivitual members of a nation or community may, and do largely and even effectively, influence the course of evolution of their nation or community. But they do it not directly but indirectly, by the force of thought or habit which their individual thinking and living cumulatively produce in the community. A nation very rarely makes any deliberate choice and consciously wills to accept or reject any particular idea or course of action. National impulses, like those of all complex organisms, are not the result of calm deliberation or considered selection, but are due to what may best be characterised as unconscious cerebration. A nation rarely

or never weighs and balances the truth or untruth, the good or the evil of any thought or course that presents itself before it, but accepts or rejects it simply according to the law of its own inner affinities or repulsions : that which is in harmony with the sum total of its past and present life and experiences, and that which is most calculated to help it in its struggle for existence, it accepts readily and perhaps even greedily ; that which is not of this character, it rejects automatically. This law of natural selection operates equally in social as in biological evolution. Individuals may and do influence the course of social evolution, but only slowly, indirectly, by creating new conditions, stimulating new thoughts, communicating to their community new and nobler ideals. But even here, society uses its own selective powers. The collective social consciousness accepts and embraces only such of these new thoughts, ideas, ideals and inspirations as are in consonance with its own inner spirit and character, and rejects those that cannot so fit in with that spirit and character. And the moment we consider these facts, we find it impossible to accept my correspondent's position that the value of nationalism is more negative than positive.

Absolutism and Nationalism

I can fully understand, however, my friend's position. In the first place, truth and right are to him absolute categories : what is true for one is, to him, true for all ; what is true in one country must be true in every other country. And so also with right or goodness. This absolutism is the key-note of all credal systems. But with us, it is different. Truth, in the sense and of the class to which my correspondent refers, is a matter of intellectual conviction or what we call rational belief. And this truth is always relative. What is acceptable and convincing to one person is not nessessarily acceptable to others. Our intellectual convictions are always regulated by our experience, training and temperament. A thought or idea to be acceptable to me must fit in with the general scheme of my thinking and reasoning ; must conform to the particular cast of my mind. It is, therefore, that what seems to be very good reason to one person, appears as utterly

unreasonable to another. Faith really is not a matter of volition, but of cognition and emotion. And our faith always accommodates itself to the general scheme of our thought and the general habits and avocations of our life. Dogmas of ancient religions are progressively interpreted from age to age, and the injunctions of the prophets and teachers of the world have new meaning put upon them, with either additions or reservations, to accommodate them to the actual thought and life of their adherents and followers. The Gospel of Jesus Christ received, thus, new interpretations from the Greek and Roman converts to Christianity : and some of his best teachings are being dismissed and shelved to-day by the modern Christian, because they do not fit in with their social life and current ethical standards. "If a man take thy coat, let him have thy cloak also" —is an impossible, unpractical, harmful injunction to a competitive and individualistic civilisation and social economy, whose law is each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. We understand these diversities. We may vote a thing as lower, but cannot condemn it as sin. It is true and good for those who are in that particular stage of evolution. They must pass through it, must beat their music out, wear out the animal and the carnal that is still in them in this way. It is bad for those who stand on another plane, and are therefore under another law. Those who are in the law must be judged by the law : and not by another, either a higher or a lower law. This is the real ethics of evolution. This is what I have always understood by self-realisation as the ultimate and eternal ethical end. This self is neither an arithmetical combination, nor a mechanical compound ; but is an organism, very complicated and complex, with many contradictions and competitions within itself, but all harmonised and reconciled in its own unity. The self is a unit. It is a unity. It is an organic unity, which realises itself through almost endless variations and changes. What we call good, and what we call evil, are both moments in the evolution of this self. Its evil is not absolute. Evil is only imperfect or misplaced good ; or it is even sometimes, only good in the making. Like shine and shadow, good and evil go together, set off each other, counterpoise each other, and work together to help the evolu-

tion and realisation of the self. For every good, as Emerson says, there is a counterpoise of evil ; and for every evil there is, somewhere, whether manifest or unmanifest, some compensating good, in the very make and being of every human individual If, therefore, what another person regards as evil, be really acceptable to me, that is, if my nature takes it in, then I take it for granted that this so-called evil is a necessity of my real growth and evolution, and is good to me. For the real judge of what will and what will not truly do me harm is my nature—the sum total of my life and being—my self. And the self is as much subject to the law of natural selection as any animal organism. What my self chooses for me is my highest and best choice. But in our present artificial state, this self is overburdened with so many superimposed faiths and ordinances, customs and conventions, and is subjected constantly to so much outside temptations and fears, that it rarely can know its own mind and make its own true and honest choice. This is why we see, as my friend points out, the conflicts of so many competing selves in us. And here our duty is to free our self, first and foremost of all, of these outer bonds. This is Carlyle's Eternal Nay : Accept nothing, believe in nothing, submit to nothing—that comes from without, whether church or society. Make your mind, so far as may be, a clean slate. Shake off these outer shackles. Be free of all *sanskara*—ideas or prepossessions, social, ethical, religious. This is the first step, in the knowledge of the self. The self that is revealed then to you, may not be very pure or noble or good, but it will at least be true and real ; and once that truth and reality is found, and it is established upon its own proper state, then its self-evolution from lower to higher and higher stages will follow as a matter of course, and will be uninterrupted. "To thine own self be true : and thou canst not be false to others' —is the utterance of the highest wisdom.

The Practical Value of Nationalism in India

As it is with individuals, so also with nations. Every nation must, first and foremost of all, be true to its own self. Its self may not be very pure or refined or noble. But whatever

its state of progress, or stage of evolution, it must, above all things, be true to the special laws of that state or stage. For upon its faithful fulfilment of that law only will depend every chance and possibility of its ascent to the next higher state or stage. "Faithful in few things, I shall make these ruler over many things"—this is the law here also. And this is true nationalism. It is the loyalty of a nation to its own genius, its own nature, its own proper and true self. Like individuals, nations too are sometimes, if not frequently, tempted to be faithless to itself. These temptations appear when a nation comes in contact with another nation or other nations owning a different culture and civilisation, which, if accepted, may place them in a position of greater earthly vantage. These temptations have come to us, for instance, in India now. The whole structure of the civilisation of our rulers is based, as Lecky says, "upon the belief that it is good thing to cultivate intellectual and material capacities even at the cost of certain moral evils which we are able accurately to foresee." The preference of material and intellectual ends over moral and spiritual ends, constitutes a prominent feature of the present phase of this civilisation with which our nation stands confronted today. The representatives of this new civilisation hold political sovereignty over us. It is always natural for the subjects to follow their sovereign. We adopted many foreign things in imitation of our Moslem rulers. We are doing the same to-day. This is almost inevitable. In the next place, the natural leaning of our common carnal appetites is to give preference to material over moral and spiritual good. The emphasis of our mediaeval civilisation was different. It gave preference to moral and spiritual acquisitions over earthly powers and enjoyments. Ours was the straight way. That of the new culture imported into our country now is much broader and easier and more tempting. Nationalism has, therefore, a very positive value to us Loyalty to our national ideals and institutions means really our only chance of living as a distinct and individual nation. It constitutes our only title to grow as an individual nation among the nations of the modern world. It is a supremely practical problem to us. Its value is positive and not negative.

Nationalism and Traditionalism

I think, however, that the kindly criticisms of my esteemed English correspondent are based upon a very common misconception. To a good many people, even among us, and especially in the ranks of both our social reformers and reactionaries, nationalism means only rank and hidebound conservatism. This unreasonable and rigid conservartism has often masqueraded as real nationalism, and the note of sober and rational progress has frequently been stifled in its name. The apprehensions of my correspondent and those who think and feel like him, are not entirely fanciful or unreal. But my complaint is that they do not seem to take due note of the fundamental difference between mere conservatism and real nationalism. Hidebound conservatism is, really, as different from true nationalism, as rampant jingoism is, for instance, different from real imperialism.

Nationalism and Evolution

In fact, the entire philosophy of nationalism, as I have been taught to understand it, is based upon the Theory or Law of Evolution. And this nationalism cannot, therefore, be in any way identified with hidebound conservatism. This conservatism is averse to all change; but change is the very soul of the Law of Evolution. Indeed, this law offers the only rational synthesis between conservatism and advance, between order and progress. It cancels the fancied conflict between what was, and what is, and what must be. It works present changes without breaking continuity with the past. In truth, change has no meaning unless it works and appears in an object whose continuity is maintained unbroken through whatever changes it may pass through. To get ill, to be placed in bed and under proper treatment, to get convalescent and well, and to resume, with returning health and strength, the ordinary avocations of life—all these are characterised as changes only when they follow one another in the same individual, but not when they represent so many different conditions of as many different peoples. "I was a baby, I became a boy, I

went to school, I became a man, I married and had children, I retired upon becoming old"—these are changes, because they have reference to one and the same individual, whose continuity is maintained unbroken through all these changes. They are all evolutions of one and same person. This "I", this first person singular, this what we call "self"—persisted through all these changes. If with each one of these various changes, continuity of this personal consciousness—the sense that I am I—were destroyed, then they would not be parts of an evolutionary series. Thus we find that the fundamental fact in evolution is that it allows and effects almost endless changes in an object or organism, without breaking up its continuity or destroying its unity. The Law of Evolution cancels thus, every conflict between change and permanence, between continuity and progress. Change and permanence are contradictions in formal and verbal logic. But Evolution cancels and reconciles these. And as the Philosophy of Nationalism is based upon this Law of Evolution, it leaves no room either for hidebound conservatism on the one hand or for rank revolution on the other. Both are at war with real national life and advancement.

The Postulates of Evolution

The postulates of the Law or Theory of Evolution are mainly two : first heredity, second environment. Its one aim is to maintain the individuality or distinctiveness of the type, in and through all the changes of forms and habits that it may undergo in its attempt to adapt itself to its changing environments. But even combination of different original types to form a new type is neither impossible nor unknown. This is not possible, however, in all cases. It depends upon the affinities of the types that are sought to be crossed to produce a third type higher, perhaps, than both the parent types. But even in these hybrids the individuality of the original types are not entirely destroyed, but rather preserved, either accentuated or modified, in the new type produced from them. Nationalism does not, therefore, deny possibility of the birth of new national types, through the crossing, so to say, of two

or more existing nationalities. But this crossing can be fruitful in the case of such national organisms only as have sufficient affinities between them, both in their original race consciousness, and in their present stage of culture and civilisation. Where these affinities are absent, there any attempt at "crossing" either biologically by indiscriminate intermarriage, or sociologically by the enforced or imitative introduction of the organs and institutions of a higher religion or civilisation among a lower race, will be bound to lead to atavism and degeneration. And the nationalist principle that "a nation ought to be true to its own personality," and should seek always to preserve continuity with its past," is based upon the need and desire of avoiding these evils ; and is not meant really, to maintain its absolute isolation from the other nations of the world.

The Birth and Growth of New Nations

Indeed, such isolation is neither possible nor desirable. It is not possible, because of the inevitable movement of populations from thickly-populated to sparsely-populated territories, under pressure of economic needs and the consequent irruption of the members of different nationalities upon their neighbouring countries.. It had been so in the past when we had no nations really, but only tribes ; and it is through these tribal and racial fusions and combinations that most of the great nations of our day originally grew. It is even so today, when conquest or commerce, or both, have been leading to colonisation of distant tracts and territories by the more aggressive and expansive nations of the world. These colonisations always lead more or less to international crossing and combination. These are strongly resisted by the members of a higher civilisation when they are placed in intimate physical and geographical contact with those of a lower culture, and especially of a different colour ; as we find in Africa, which is being increasingly colonised by the European peoples. But in all these new settlements free and unrestricted miscegenation is allowed among the members of the different white nationalities. These combinations do not, however, destroy national differentiations, but simply create new national types,

more developed perhaps, and surely more complex, than the older ones. We are thus seeing, before our very eyes, the birth and growth of new national types, with distinct individualities or personalities of their own, not only in the United States of America, but even in the British Dominions of Canada and South Africa. And the fact that these new combinations of the members of different nationalities with developed and distinctive notes and marks of their own, do not destroy national differentiations but instead of seeking self-fulfilment in any shapeless and formless and undifferentiated cosmopolitanism or inter-nationalism, rather create new national organisms, proves the truth of the essential postulate of the Philosophy of Nationalism, namely, that every composite people either living together in one common territory, under one common State, or inheritors and workers of a common culture and civilisation, whether primitive and simple or advanced and complex, from time immemorial, or thrown recently into one another's company, as members of the same State, have or develop a distinct personality of their own. International admixture does not destroy the personality of a new nation, but, on the contrary, develops it and gives it a new shape and form, in which the older types are not entirely obliterated, nor from which the older spirit is absolutely eliminated, but where these are simply transformed and transmuted. The law of conservation of energy and transmutability of force is not absent even from social evolution. And all these prove, it seems to me, the positive value of nationalism as a principle and law of social evolution.

6

LALA HAR DAYAL

[Lala Har Dayal (1884-1933) has a place of his own in the history of Indian freedom movement. As a dedicated revolutionary he believed that the establishment of *swaraj* in India could take place through the progressive application of the principle of dissociation from the British rule. His attachment to the cause of independence was so deep that Gokhale once admired him 'for being mad after the country'. As a great scholar of literature and history, he wrote like a dominant champion of nationalism inspired by the philosophy of Hinduism By virtue of his association with Shyamji Krishnavarama in England, to whom Maxim Gorky called 'the Mazzini of India', he became a downright rebel against what he termed the denationalising policy of British imperialism in India. In 1907 he drew up 'A Sketch of a Complete Movement for the Emancipation of India' and founded the Society of Political Missionaries that, as his biographer (Dharamvira) says, was 'a quiet movement and not a secret organisation'. In 1913 he founded the Ghadar Party in California (USA) so as to organise revolutionary activities abroad on behalf of his country. Now he openly advocated the way of violence and revolution for the liberation of his country. It may be noted in the text of his *Yugantar Circular* wherein he justified the cult of the bomb.* In one of his writings *Forty-four Months in Germany and Turkey* (published in 1920) he frankly endorsed that "the

*On 23 December, 1912 a bomb was thrown to finish Viceroy Lord Hardinge while his procession was passing through Chandni Chowk in Delhi Har Dayal's name was associated with the conspiracy.

world only understands the law of the mailed fist". From 1915 to 1917 he stayed in Germany and acted as the head of the Indian Independence Committee in Berlin and took a distinctly pro-German stand. However, the most astounding fact about his role is the change in his views after the first World War. Feeling disillusioned with the ways of violence and terrorism, he advocated the cause of India's independence within the British Empire. In this way, he followed the way of Congress liberals and thereby, in the words of Lala Lajpat Rai, became a 'constitutionalist'.]

A SKETCH OF COMPLETE POLITICAL MOVEMENT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF INDIA

I. Three parts, each shall work separately :

(*a*) *Educative and academic* :

(*i*) Interpretation of our history and of the lives and deeds of our heroes ; stimulating a healthy national pride by impressing the idea of national continuity and unity.

(*ii*) Instruction in the history of the movements for liberty in other lands.

(*iii*) Instruction in the principles of politics and economics. This part is meant to produce the sense of national unity and of social duty which provides the motive force.

(*b*) *Destructive* :

Criticism of the present regime and an exposure of its manifold evils. This part provides a knowledge of the critical nature of the situation.

(*c*) *Constructive* :

Actual preparation for the inevitable struggle whether diplomatic, military or other. This part, having formed *the main*, deals with measures :

II. *Members* : Members are of 4 classes :—

Desa-sarvasewaks (dedicators) :} Admitted to all the 3
Desa-sewaks (missionaries) :} parts at once.

Desa-sareasawaks shall give up all wealth, and lead a life of celibacy and poverty.

Desa-sewaks shall give all their time and do not earn any money for themselves. They may or may not accept a small allowance from the Society and may contribute to the funds of the Society if they can.

Desa-premiks—enthusiastic members.

Desa-hitaishis—ordinary members.

The two latter classes may be admitted to either of the parts (*a*) and (*b*) or to both, but not to part (*c*).

Ladies can be admitted to all classes except that of married *Desa-sewaks*.

III. *Organisation* : For

(*i*) *Desa-sarvasawaks and Desa-sewaks.* } A council consisting of all. President shall be elected. President shall have supreme executive power under the rules.

Funds under their control :—

1. Fund for their maintenance.
2. Fund for the publication of literature.
3. Fund for part (*c*).

For (*ii*) *Desa-premiks* and *Desa-hitaishis*.

Each *premik* shall have a *sahayak* of the *desa-sewak* or *sarvasewak* class to assist him in his work for the cause.

Each *premik* will be *sahayak* to one or more *hitaishis* for the same purpose.

Functions of a *sahayak* are : (*i*) To asists his *mitras* (friends) in their work for the movement.

(*ii*) To communicate to them all information regarding the movement which is supplied to him by his *sahayaks*.

IV. *Method of Admission* : A member should first make sure of the zeal and knowledge of the candidate he wishes to propose. Unless he has reason to believe that the gentleman will willingly join any part, he should not disclose the existence of the Society to him.

He should send his proposal to his *sahayak*, who will submit it to the Council of the whole Society, composed of all the *desa-sewaks*, *desa-sarvasewaks*, one elected *desa-premik* for every 10 *premiks* and one elected *desa-premik* for 25 *hitaishis*. The election shall take place in the Council, which may delegate its powers to a committee.

V. *All work shall be quiet*, with the exception of an Annual Assembly protesting against the various temporary and permanent acts of injustice perpetrated by the Government.

It should be carefully noted that private conversation and personal influence are the chief means of spreading an idea.

No news regarding the movement shall go into the newspapers, except the proceedings of the Annual Assembly and such measures undertaken by the Society as do not appear political in their nature, but are really meant to subserve a political purpose.*

DESH-SEWAK SAMITI (Missionaries' Executive Council)

(1) The *Samiti* will have for its object the establishment of Home Rule or Swaraj in India.

(2) *Membership*: There shall be 3 classes of members (without distinction of sex or religion):

(*i*) *Samrakshaks* (patrons).
(*ii*) *Sewaks* (missionaries).
(*iii*) *Sahayaks* (assistants).

A *samrakshak* will be elected by the *sewaks*.

A *sewak* will be elected by the *sewaks* with the approval of the *samrakshaks*.

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*Those who have no experience of an organisation of this nature will perhaps jump to the conclusion that it was a secret movement I would like to say it was a quiet movement. If the proceedings of its Annual Assembly could go to the Press, how could the movement or organisation be called secret? Of course, it was not to work in that manner for all time to come. Har Dayal himself in one of his letters (Oxford, July 8, 1907) remarked: "I believe we must work quietly till we are a strong and well-organised party which can withstand any amount of opposition."

A *sahayak* will be elected by the *sewak* and approved of by the other *sewaks*.

(3) (*i*) A *samrakshak* will be elected by *sewaks* on account of his services to the cause and his position.

(*ii*) A *sewak* will satisfy the following conditions :

(*i*) He will have to follow an adequate course of political studies and to live with a *sewak* for some time.

(*ii*) He will have no personal property whatever.

(*iii*) He will receive bare maintenance for himself and family from the Society. The education of his children will be provided for by the Society.

(*iv*) He will carry out the policy of the Society in accordance with the directions of the Executive Council of the *sewaks*, so far as the latter do not conflict with his conscientious convictions.

(*iii*) A *sahayak* will promise to abide by the rules of the Society and to give it financial and other assistance.

(4) *ORGANISATION* :

I. (*a*) *Samrakshaks* will elect a President or a Secretary for calling meetings or transacting other business. The Secretary will also communicate with the Secretary of the Executive Council of the *sewaks*.

(*b*) The *samrakshaks* will guide the general policy of the Society and receive a general annual report of the work from the *sewaks*.

II. *Sewaks* : The *sewaks* will elect secretaries for different departments of work and also an Executive Council composed of these Secretaries and others. The Executive Council will be the means of coummunication between *sewaks* and *samrakshaks*.

III. *Sahayaks* : The *sahayaks* will form themselves into groups or *mandalis*, and each of which will have a *sewak* or a

gentleman nominated by a *scwak* for its secretary. The secretary of each group will receive the financial and other contributions of the group to the Society and will help the *sahayaks* in their work on behalf of the cause.

(5) Rules : (*i*) All property etc. of the Society will rest in the *samrakshaks* and *sewaks* who together will form the *Antarang Sabha* (Inner Committee).

(*ii*) No member of the Society will accept any title, pension, office of emolument or honorary dignity whatever from the British Government or any other non-Indian government outside India except with the consent and approval of the *samrakshaks* and *sewaks*.

(*iii*) The *sahayaks* will receive a General Annual Report of the work which has been approved by the *sewaks* and *samrakshaks* (or *Antarang Sabha*).

(*iv*) It shall rest with "the *sewaks* and *samarkshaks*" to make public or to communicate to the *sahayaks* as much of the work of the Society as they consider expedient.

(6) No alteration in the Rules of the Society can take place without a 9/10ths majority in the *Antarang Sabha*.*

DESHBHAKTA SAMAJ**

Minute on the India House.

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*The Political Missionaries Society was actually formed in 1907. Persons like Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Lala Har Dayal and Mr Sardarsinghji Rewabhai Rana were associated with it. One of the meetings held in London on December 28, 1907 discussed certain important things concerning the Society. The agenda must have been pretty heavy that day as the minute written by Lala Har Dayal in his own hand shows it. The building of the India House in London was bought by Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma for more than a hundred thousand rupees. When the *Desabhakta Samaj* was founded, he passed it on to the Samaj. Besides this, he donated ten thousand rupees.

**Minutes of a meeting held on 28 December, 1907 written by Lala Har Dayal.

(*i*) The management should be in the hands of a Committee as arranged previously.

(*ii*) I have to go now, as my wife's residence in this country involves an enormous waste of time and money on account of her being liable to hysteria and on account of my friend's non-fulfilment of his promise to aid.

(*iii*) As regards my returning immediately (from India to England) to manage the House and complete my political education.

(*a*) Whether it is expedient. I have already expressed my opinion that the India House is an important institution in India. I can work among students and enter on the "best" life earlier. But I must first finish my Text Book before beginning active propaganda and a stay in England furnishes the best opportunities for this work.

(*b*) Whether I am ready to return. I am, I should stay only 3 or 4 weeks in order to meet supporters of the cause and arrange for the distribution of literature in the future.

(*c*) *Expenses* : Mr Rana says, he or other friends are ready to make everything easy. Besides, my expenses may come out of the management if there are five or six people. Now I think that

(*i*) I should pay for my board along with the others. As any surplus that may accrue will go to Panditji (S.K.) and I also receive help from him, it's all the same. If I live at the expense of other boarders, my moral influence is weakened and any defects in the management may be ascribed to a desire on my part to get a margin for my maintenance. I wish to appear as an equal member of a mess, not as a manager of a boarding house. Thus it is proper that I should pay £1.15 weekly into the accounts.

(*ii*) I do not wish to trouble Mr Rana or other friends as their money can be used for better purposes and I do not wish to put anyone to *extra* expenditure on my account. It is always a matter of great responsibility to put others, especially the party, to great expense.

(*iii*) If a plan can be devised by which I can live here for a year without putting any persons to extra expenditure, I can return about the middle of March.

My father-in-law pays my passage money to India now and I can get a return ticket at a small additional cost. I shall not trouble the party for this at present.

52 weeks at a guinea a week would cost £ 54.

The return passage at the end of a year would cost £14 (deck).

Part of the money will of course appear in the surplus, if any accrues.

If it is considered proper, Mr. Krishnavarma may offer me a Lecturership for which I may be considered a deserving candidate. The sum of £ 66 would be just sufficient. If I can obtain any money from any other quarter, I shall want less out of the Lecturership for my personal needs. I shall keep Mr. Krishnavarma informed of my expenses and receipts as I do not want anything beyond what is necessary.

Thus all *extra* expenditure will be avoided as the Lecturership has to be offered to somebody. As Mr. Krishnavarma had intended to give me Rs. 1,000 till July, of which I have already received about Rs. 275, there remains out of that sum about Rs. 725 (£ 48) which I shall not want, now that I return to India. This circumstance may be taken into consideration.

(*iv*) *Furniture*: At least six bedrooms should be furnished according to the standard indicated by Mr. Master. This is a *sine qua non* of reform, which should be guaranteed if my return to England is to be fruitful. We want more carpets, easy chairs, towel stands, pictures, etc. An estimate of cost should be prepared.

YUGANTAR CIRCULAR*
(The Delhi Bomb)

This is the name that we propose to give to their epoch-making, thought-provoking, far-resounding bomb of December

*A note published by Lala Har Dayal in January, 1913.

23, 1912. One may say that it is one of the sweetest and loveliest bombs that have exploded in India since the great day on which Khudiram Bose first ushered a new era in the history of India, more than four years ago. Indeed this bomb is one of the most serviceable and successful bombs in the history of Freedom all over the world. Delhi has redeemed her ancient fame. She has spoken, and the world has heard and the tyrant has heard, too! And, we the devoted soldiers of freedom in the country or abroad, have also heard the message.

Hail! Hail! Hail! Bomb of December 23, 19'2. Harbinger of hope and courage, dear re-awakener of slumbering souls, thou hast come just in time not a moment too soon. Thou wast indeed overdue.

And why do we rejoice with a great joy over the broken howdah and prostrate form of the tyrant on this memorable day? Why do our eyes fill with tears of gladness and our hearts feel the stirrings of a mighty purpose? What lessons should our young men and women learn from this thunder-peal of Freedom?

This bomb marks the definite revival of the revolutionary movement after the short interval of the inactivity that has been recently noticeable. The repressive measures that have been taken by the Government during four years have deprived us of some of our best comrades: but left their indomitable spirit and unbounded faith with us. The Government in a panic did its work: our journals and newspapers were suppressed; our brave men were imprisoned and condemned to a living grave; our faithful fighters for the cause were exiled and persecuted. All India was hushed into silence. The revolutionary spirit seemed crushed. The tyrants were happy: the hirelings in Calcutta felt safe in their seats.

Then the tyrants looked ahead. They saw that a new era had begun. They decided to conciliate the people by offering 'reforms' and 'concessions'. Jobs were created for 'educated

parasities'; councils were enlarged and expanded for the benefit of ambitious politicians and lawyers. These futile and deceptive measures served to rally the 'moderates' to the side of the Government, as dogs are silenced with a bone thrown among them.

And to crown all, the tyrants wished to assert their prestige and power by imitating the old orient rulers of the country. The British must step into the shoes of the Grand Moghul. They must build fine palaces for themselves and surround themselves with pageants and courts in order to impress the 'imagination' of the people. That is the great thing if you want to rule India—the 'imagination' of the people must be touched. That was what Lord Curzon was after. The British Empire in India was to be buttressed up with peacock thrones, caparisoned elephants and golden umbrellas. These defences were to protect the Government against the advancing armies of the Revolutionary party. The cost of clothing of the Moghul Emperors was to shield the British rulers against the slow growing might of the Revolution. But the tyrants forgot that the race of those who wrote the Yugantar in blood, was not dead.

But how could the Empire stand forth in all its bloody glory except at Delhi ? It was absolutely uecessary to demonstrate to the provinces and the people of India the permanence and stability of the 'Empire' by moving a thousand miles, inland, and occupying the ancient capital of this land of many empires. So the Government resolved the transfer itself bag and baggage from Calcutta to Delhi.

Finally, the jaded king of England was trotted out to Delhi in the winter of 1911 to impress the grandeur of the 'empire' on the minds of the assembled hosts of Hindusthan. The great 'durbar' in which the money of the people was squandered on debauched kings and queens and princes and princesses, was intended to mark the final culmination of the empire-building process in India. It was also meant to proclaim to the whole world that the revolutionary spirit was conquered and

tamed. The decrepit king George cried from the balcony of the Delhi palace, 'Lo ! the work of Khudiram Bose is now undone'. But the spirit of Revolution willed otherwise.

Many were the wishes and prayers that surged in the hearts of all lovers of Freedom in those dark days of shame. How we yearned for the news of the assassination of the blessed 'Emperor' from day to day. The entire thought, power of all the good men and women of India, was then concentrated on this one idea. As the 'durbar' ended without the desired consummation, we were sad and gloomy. The bomb was not there and no 'imperial durbar' can be complete without the bomb. How loyal we seem to be—we the Revolutionaries cannot be absent from a durbar. Strange, is it not ?

A year passed. The pride of the tyrants was not gratified. They must imitate the Moghuls in all respects. It was unworthy of an unjust person like the Viceroy of India to enter Delhi without pomp and ceremony. He must celebrate the event with becoming splendour. And then why should he be left behind Curzon of Kidleston ? Curzon had ridden an elephant ; why not Hardinge ? And how can the Empire be consolidated and defended without the elephant ? So the Viceroy must make an 'imperial' entry into Delhi !

But everyone had forgotten things that can never die—the spirit of Yugantar, the words and deeds of Khudiram Bose and Kanailal and Dhingra and Kanhere, the heroism of Barin and Hemchandra, the gospel of Maniktala Ashram and the magic messages of Aurobindo and Savarkar. All these were well-nigh forgotten by all, by the Government and people alike, except a small band of the faithful. And in that historical street of Chandni Chowk, in that fateful moment, the spirit of Yugantar said in a voice of thunder to the people of India and to the world : 'I am living yet. O ! my children, forget not that I am living. Let the tyrants beware. Let the people rejoice. For I am living, and will live for ever more.

We do not know where this great deliverer came from. He came like a blessing in answer to oft-repeated sighs and

yearnings. He awakened us from sleep—he flashed a dazzling light before our drooping eye-lids. Whoever he is, the beloved hero of the hour, his is the wisdom and glory and the power to-day. In the midst of despair and sorrow, he has sent a thrill of joy and hope from one corner of the land to the other While all India was dumb with fear he has spoken with the voice of Bheema and Arjun. While exiles in foreign lands were anxiously scanning the future and waiting for a happier time, he has sent them a message of comfort and courage from his awe-inspiring lips. Alone among cowards and slaves he has shown that the race of *man* has not died out in India With his *bajravani* (bold and strong voice he has given forth the triumphant cry of freedom on the soil of Hindusthan : 'Where the tyrant is there am I also, O ! people of India. And the bomb is the tongue of fire, that uttereth my word.

This bomb of December 1912 opens up a new epoch in the history of the revolutionary movement in India. Mark well our words. It is our resurrection. Henceforth, the Revolutionary movement will don its armour anew and march from victory to victory. The lull is past. Welcome the storm again. The ardent spirits that were a little tired are re-inspired for the combat. The brave men and women, who were tempted to desert the thorny path of Revolutionary action for the safer channels of more social reforms or constitutional agitation; will now return to fight with redoubled enthusiasm. All India stands astonished, overjoyed, thrilled, ready for sacrifice, for heroism, for victory. The bomb has come as the fitting conclusion of the durbar. The durbar is a landmark in the imperial history; and this bomb marks a red-letter day in our Revolutionary annals. May durbars and bombs go together till there are no more durbars on the surface of the earth.

Who can describe the moral power of the bomb? It is a concentrated moral dynamite. When the strong and cunning in the pride of their power parade their glory before their helpless victims, when the rich and naughty set themselves on a pedestal and ask their slaves to fall down before them and worship them, when the wicked ones on the earth seem exalted to the sky and

nothing appears to withstand their might, then in that dark hour, for the glory of humanity, comes the bomb, which lays the tyrant in the dust. It tells all the cowering slaves that he who sits enthroned as a god, is a mere man like them. Then, in that hour of shame, the bomb preaches the eternal truth of human equality and sends proud superiors and viceroys from the palace and the howdah to the grave and the hospital. Then, in that tense moment when human nature is ashamed of itself, the bomb declares the vanity of power and pomp and redeems us from our own baseness. How great we all feel when some-one does a heroic deed ! We share in his moral power. We rejoice in his assertion of human equality and dignity.

Deep down in the human heart like a diamond in a mine lies hidden the yearning for justice, equality and brotherhood. We do not even know it ourselves, but it is there all the same. And that is why we instinctively honour those who make war on inequality and injustice by any means in their power—the pen, the tongue, the sword, the gun, the strike, and last but not the least, the bomb.

Fools and cowards prate and ask questions, while honest men and women rise up and bless the hand that lays the tyrant low Without the bomb the poor ensalved millions of the earth would grovel in the dust, while the oppressors cover themselves with divine honours. When 'Ceaser' calls himself the 'Son of God' the bomb answers that he is but the 'Son of Man'. The bomb thus enters the service of democracy, as an indispensable instrument. Without the bomb where would the poor be ? In the hell of perpetual slavery, the hypnotism of pomp would rivet fetters more firmly than ever.

And whether it hits or misses, a bomb is a blessing on all such occasions. Where tyranny issues her proclamation, Freedom must also do the same. No bomb at an 'Imperial' or 'Royal' procession is inopportune. It breaks the spell, it is an antidote to the hypnotism of power, which paralyses the people. It is the voice of the millions speaking a tongue that all can understand. It is the esperanto of Revolution.

The dark clouds of wealth and privilege and power cover the earth shutting the light of the sun. The bomb is the lightning in the clouds, that guides, bewildered and benighted humanity in its quest for the goal of Freedom.

When such a great blessing comes to us, we should remember all the heroes and heroines who have gone before. We should name with love and reverence the great names that stand as beacon lights in history. On such occasions we should recount the deeds and repeat the words of Rousseau and Voltaire, Marx and Bakunin, Vera Zassulitch and Sophia Peravskie, and all our beloved comrades who have lived and died for the ideal that we cherish.

Every great deed creates a duty for mankind. They who share in the fruits of heroism, must do the duty that results from it. The life of the world, of the nation, of an individual, is raised to a higher plane after every expression of heroism in any field of activity. When once the bomb has been thrown, we must all be nobler and wiser than before. That is the message of the bomb to each and every one of us.

"Comrades of the Revolution in India, be up and doing. Organise your propaganda anew at home and abroad. Take new vows of service and sacrifice. Lo ! the bomb has spoken. Let the young men and women of Hindusthan answer.

Bande Mataram.

THE HINDU NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The growth of the Hindu National Movement is one of the most remarkable contemporary phenomena in the Orient. The diversity of races and religions in India need not be an insuperable obstacle to national unity. Every country in the world has had to contend with similar difficulties. A common historical tradition is the indispensable basis of national unity. India boasts of a national historical tradition that has been transmitted from generation to generation for more than four

thousand years. Again, India's geographical situation marks her out as a distinct country destined to be the home of a great nation. The struggle with the British Government will weld them into a strong whole. Such conflicts have always been the chief instrument in nation-building.

The British conquered the country by pursuing a policy of cunning and bribery, supplemented by frequent resort to brute force. At present the people of India live in a condition ot utter misery and degradation. Seventy million Hindus, who are not directly governed by the British, are more prosperous than the two hundred and fifty millions who are British subjects.

The land revenue has increased by leaps and bounds since the beginning of the English rule. The total land revenue has increased from about seventy five million to hundred million dollars. Salt is taxed 150 per cent above its value and its production is a government sole monopoly. Lord Salisbury summed up the whole situation in a single phrase : 'India must be bled.'

The officials pay themselves exorbitant salaries. The amount of money transferred from India to England each year on account of pensions, salaries, interest on debts and so on, records the total of one hundred and seventy five million dollars.

The administration of justice is turned into a source of revenue by the Government. The executive and official functions are combined in the same person. The use of torture to extort confessions is fearfully common. When Englishmen murder Hindus they are generally let off with a fine. There is no justice between the white and the brown.

Education is sadly neglected. Four villages out of five are without a school. Heavy fees are charged at all Universities and colleges run by the Government.

Public sanitation is conspicuous by its absence. A meagre sum of a million dollars a year is spent for the sanita-

tion of two hundred and fifty million people. Plague has raged unchecked for sixteen years, and has caused more than eight million deaths. The death rate has risen from 24 to 34 during the last twenty years. These appalling figures speak for themselves.

Barbarous punishments are inflicted on patriotic public men for 'sedition'. Distinguished men are transferred away to prison without trial. Young men are transferred for life to barren tropical islands for writing seditious poems. Trials are held *in camera* in many cases. Children are flogged in public squares for reciting 'seditious' poems. A government which maintains its power by such terrorism stands self-condemned.

Empires are relics of barbarism, and must disappear in the course of social evolution.*

CONDITION IN INDIA
HINDU LECTURER TELLS OF OPPRESSION OF PEOPLE**

India is a land of mystery and romance of unequalled charm and historical interest. The Hindus were the pioneers of Aryan civilization. Hindu literature and philosophy have attracted the best minds of many countries during many centuries. More than half the population of the globe professes creeds that originated in India. India is the holy land for the Japanese and the Chi-ese. Her claims on the sympathy of the civilized world are immense. The discovery of America was a fortunate mistake made by Columbus, who really wished to discover the route to India.

India is one of the richest countries of the world, but its people at present are very poor. The average annual income of the Indian people is only ten dollars a year, according to the

*This copy was furnished to the British Consul General by Pandion, sub-agent of the British agent Hopkinson. (Home. Pol. H. June 1913. No. 5-17. N.A I.)

**An indirect version of Lala Har Dayal's discussion at the Finish Hall in Union Town Published in *The Astorian* dated 5 June, 1913

official estimates. The country is not producing all it can, one acre yielding but 11 bushels of wheat as compared to 33 bushels in England.

The chief cause of the poverty of the people is the selfish and short-sighted policy of the British Government. England has applied to India with success and in every detail, the 'colonial system', which cost her allegiance of the American colonies. India is exploited and plundered for the benefit of the English upper and middle classes so that more than two hundred million dollars are taken out of the country each year. This is the tribute paid by India to the conqueror—a tribute which stands alone in the history of imperialism, ancient and modern.

The taxation is oppressive beyond calculation. The land-tax swallows up the large part of the formers' earnings. Salt is taxed about 200 per cent its value. The cotton goods manufactured in the country pay a duty of 3½ per cent so that they may not compete with Lancashire. The currency is debased and thus all taxation is increased 30 per cent even without the knowledge of the simple peasantry. The revenues of India are employed for the extension of the empire in Asia by means of numerous expeditions and intrigues The *durbars,* about which much is heard in foreign countries. are marked by criminal extravagence and often synchronise with famines and pestilence.

Education is not encouraged. After a hundred years of British occupation, only 10 per cent of the people are literate. Sanitation is conspicuous by its absence. Malaria is rife and bubonic plague carries off thousands of the poor people every year.

The Government is an irresponsible bureaucracy. There are no representative institutions and there is no popular control of finance. The executive and the judicial functions are combined in the same persons. Torture in prisons is very common and there is no trial by jury over the large portion of the country. There are no guarantees of personal liberty, eminent persons being arrested and imprisoned without trial

for long periods. The Press is gagged and domiciliary visits are frequent. All India is governed like a military district. Conditions there are similar to those existing in Russia before the rising of 1905.

The revolutionary force has been gathering force during the last eight years. It aims at the abolition of British rule. It has inaugurated a boycott of British manufactures. It teaches the people to refuse service to the administration. Its leaders at the present time are scattered all over the world as political refugees. It publishes journals from Paris and Switzerland. It is spreading with great rapidity and the Government has, therefore, adopted a very severe policy of repression. Spies abound everywhere in India. Within ten years a great upheaval of the down-trodden masses, led by the educated classes of the country, may be confidently predicted. Foreign capital should, therefore, fight shy of India, as there is going to be trouble in that reign very soon.

Greece bled under Turkey and Italy groaned under Austria. These two mother races of Aryan civilisation have been rescued from bondage in the 19th century. Now India should be helped to realise her destiny and she is struggling to be free.

THE SOCIAL CONQUEST OF THE HINDU RACE

Political dominion is never permanent unless it is based on a social conquest of the subject races. The social conquest must, in the nature of things, follow the political subjugation of one race by another. Political power is acquired by means of military superiority and skill in the diplomacy ; it is also maintained by the same means. But the social conquest is a slower process ; it cannot be accomplished with the help of maximum guns and disciplined armies. Even Alexander or Chengiz Khan could not effect a social conquest of other nations by the use of force alone. Force can crush the organised physical strength of a weak people. It can demolish the forts, and scatter the armies, of an inferior race, but it can

never enable the conquerors to obtain control over the hearts and minds of their subjects. The sword is worse than useless for the rulers when they set about the task of conquering their subjects socially. It actually mars the success of the enterprise.

It must be sheathed in the scabbard ; it must be put away out of sight for the moment.

The necessity of a social conquest is a means of consolidating and perpetuating. The political conquest can be understood by all who know the conditions under which alone a strong nation can establish and maintain its rule over other peoples. No nation can lose its birth-right of independence until it has been so demoralised through avarice, luxury and indolence as to forget the virtues of national pride and self-respect, religious enthusiasm and the sense of individual responsibility for the social welfare. The decay of the moral cailbre of nation paves the way for foreign domination which, in turn, accelerates the process of decline by its very existence. (Professor Seeley says that subjection to a foreign rule is one of the most potent causes of moral deterioration. Thus moral decrepitude is both the cause and the effect of foreign rule, just as fever attacks the man whose system has been weakened by intemperance or unhealthy living and, at the same time, renders him more unfit to resist disease and physical decay.

The social conquest is an essential part of the political conquest, because the latter can never be stable and enduring if the manly qualities of the subject race are not impaired. If the conquered people manage to keep alive their self-respect and dignity through centuries of foreign political supremacy, they are sure to enter into their inheritance of independence some day. Sooner or later, the unsubdued heart and mind of the sturdy race will seek its outward sign and symbol, its embodiment in the world of fact, *viz.*, a national state. The great duty of a subject people consists in guarding the Promethean spark of national pride and self-respect, lest it should be extinguished by the demoralising influences that emanate from foreign rule. The natural, almost inevitable, effect of

foreign domination, is the gradual loss of the virtues which distinguish free men from slaves. The extinction of these requisites of national existence proclaims the death of the nation. The social conquest is necessary for killing the soul of the nation. National pride is the greatest asset of a fallen race. Conquerors will always teach us that we are an inferior people : their laws and their methods of administration will impress this truth on our minds. A subject people should try to resist the social conquest before they can hope to avert or remedy the evil consequences of the political conquest.

Political conquest proclaims to the whole world with beat of drum the fact that the winning race is more efficient than the race which has been defeated. Battles are generally examinations of Nature's great university. The issue of international contests is decided not by isolated engagements but by the relative social efficiency of the rival nations. The English beat the French in the Titanic struggle for empire in the 18th century, not because they possessed better ammunition or accidentally won a battle or two, but because their policy exhibited a persistent vigour and a constancy of purpose which were unknown to the French administrators.

Victory in war, therefore, indicates something more than mere military pre-eminence : it is the sign and seal of racial superiority.

The conquered race is always conscious of it What is known to the world can not be hidden from it. It feels its heart sink : it gives up every thing for lost. It loses hope, courage, self-confidence. It ceases to consider itself the equal of the ruling caste. It learns to think that there is a natural inequality of capacity between the two races. Thus, in course of time, it kills its own soul, for how can it repudiate the message of fact thundered forth by history written in blood—how can it shut its eyes to the great truth that stares in the face— "Thou hast fought and hast failed. Thou hast put forth thy greatest strength and hast been overcome. Thou hast tried to do thy best and that the best has not availed thee." This feeling begets despair, for how can that nation expect to do

better in the future ? If it could not provide for the maintenance of national honour and institutions in the days of its freedom when it was master in its house, how can it hope to acquit itself more creditably in the dark days of foreign rule when it is bound in the fetters of laws, police, detectives, cantonments, prisons and convict establishments ? Th's thought works its moral ruin.

The truth of the superiority of the conquering race is thus instinctively recognised by the subject people They need no preachers to expound it to them. Their surroundings teach it to them. The reality of the present bids them believe it, whatever the voice of pride and hope, bringing a message from the ancient history of the race, may whisper in their ears. Seeing is believing, and imagination can not exert a greater influence on the heart and mind of the nation than its daily experience in the present. The great problem, then, which the leaders and thinkers of a fallen race have to solve is this ; How to fight this battle against nature and fact ? How to keep alive national pride and self-respect in the midst of circumstances and environments which tend to impair and undermine these virtues ? How to keep up the little moral vitality which the nation possesses and to develop it to the full height which it is capable of attaining ? The patient is sick unto death ; there is continuous *moral bleeding*, which is infinitely more dangerous than any loss of wealth ; how to stanch the wound and prevent this incessant moral bleeding, this decay of the manhood of the race ? A nation that has lost its gold and diamonds may recover them ; but a nation that has parted with its pride and self-respect, cannot regain its material prosperity, for it has lost its character, its soul, its life. And the dead do not enjoy the fruits of the earth and its bounty.

The social conquest is the process which increases this moral drain by giving the rulers opportunities of acquiring and asserting social superiority in every-day life over the conquered people. If they exercise merely political dominion, assess taxes and collect them, enact laws and execute them, they can be conquerors and legislators, tax-gatherers and constables, but they can never be *masters* of their subjects. Something more

than military occupation and political sovereignty is required in order to render their position impregnable, and make them the real and undisputed rulers of the people. Dominion is acquired by the sword, but it is generally preserved and perpetuated by other means. As time goes by, the sword is superseded by more efficient weapons, which are not so terrible to behold, but which are more fatal to the national life of the subject race than the keenest Toledo blade. Force can defeat and conquer : it can not crush. It can biud : it can not make o-e bend. Political conquest binds the subject race : it does not make it bend. How to achieve the latter result is the great problem which confronts the conquering race.

Let us take an example. It is believed that the Pariahs of Southern India are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants who were conquered by the Aryans. It is also known that the number of Aryans who colonised Southern India was very small compared with that of the aborigines.

The Aryans were more vigorous, and more united among themselves, and possessed better weapons. They went and defeated the forces of the dark chiefs who could not plan and organise and who sometimes joined the enemies of their race through shortrighted selfishness. The Brahmans settled in the land, so far everything is plain. A nation has been conquered in battle by another nation which is numerically weaker but morally and physically stronger than it. But then how has it come to pass that the Pariah of the Deccan prostrates himself before the Brahman in the street and voluntarily stands aside as the latter approaches him ? There is *now* no law requiring the Pariah to demean himself in this way. He cannot be punished by British courts of law if he refuses to compromise his self-respect by thus saluting a representative of the race which conquered his nation. The Brahman is not armed with weapons : he is generally a weak scholar, whom the Pariah could easily beat in a hand-to-hand encounter. And yet we behold the curious spectacle of hundreds of Pariahs, possessing fine physical stamina, bowing to a single Brahman in the street even in the twentieth century when there is no law requiring them to do so. The Pariahs could combine and even thrash the Brahman,

who has no means of punishing them for their insolence. They can at least refuse to acknowledge his social superiority, now that they need fear no consequences. But, in spite of these favourable circumstances, these Pariahs bow to one who is himself really, though not in name, a Sudra. How does this happen ? Here is a difficult psychological problem for us to solve. Sir Henry Cotton relates a story which throws floods of light on this question, He says :—

"I remember well the impression created in may own mind on my first arrival in India, when, on walking out in the evening with a Brahman subordinate, the Hindoos whom we might meet would accost me with the respectful gesture they will accord to official rank, while they would prostrate themselves and rub their forehead in the dust before my companion. To him they rendered a genuine obeisance ; to me they showed a sign of artificial respect only. The sense of official relationship entirely swallowed up by the stronger feeling of social subordination."*

Sir Henry must have felt that the Brahman, and not he, was the real ruler of the people.

He was merely a constable while the Brahmans swayed their hearts and minds. The position of the latter was secure. He could not be dethroned easily. Sir Henry must have envied the Brahman who was only an ill-paid employee of the British Government.

Thus we have only to ask and answer the question. How did the astute Brahmans of old secure for themselves a permanent position of predominance in the South ? We must understand the Brahman's policy in those ancient times, if we desire to fathom the significance of British policy in India in the twentieth century. History repeats itself, and our own wisdom of five thousands years ago is today employed against us by another race.

**New India*, I ed., pp.141-42.

I have already said that the social conquest is not accomplished by means of force. Nay, the use of force takes away from its significance altogether. A little pressure may be applied, but the process must chiefly be completed through skill and patience, self-restraint and perseverance. The conqueror who has won victory on the field of battle must unbend and in a way stoop to conquer socially. The social conquest is thus an enterprise radically different in its nature from the political subjugation. It is more difficult : it can not be achieved in the course of a winter campaign : it is almost imperceptible to victims of the operation. It is an opiate which is administered to the subject race : it is a slow poison which does not immediately destroy but which undermines the vitality of the nation.

The requisites for the success of the social conquest are :—

(1) The control of almost all the social activities of the subject race by the rulers, especially of such as are essential for social welfare and therefore confer special prestige on those who guide them.

(2) A common platform on which the rulers and the ruled may meet on terms of *inequality.*

(2) The existence of a class of persons among the subject peoples who should come forward to meet the rulers on this platform.

These three things having been once secured, the ruling race is fairly on the way to success in its enterprise. The Brahmans of old weie great masters in the art of bending others to their will.

They could indeed make strangers bend even when they did not first bind them. Let us see how they set about the business.

They first controlled all the activities of the subject population. They offered knowledge to all : They made themselves *gurus.* A teacher is a necessary institution in all civilised communities. They alone knew the art of healing : no other class

could learn it, so they became Vaidyas also : whenever a man fell ill, he thought of the Brahman : he praised his benificence. Then they became priests, the ministers of religion, the trustees of the sacred lore. No marriage could be celebrated, no corpse could be burned, without the presence of the Brahman, who alone knew the sacred *mantras*.

They alone studied astronomy : no one could even find out what day of the month it was without asking the Brahman. Further, they monopolised the teaching of subsidiary branches of knowledge as poetry and rhetoric which do not minister to man's daily needs. Thus all social activities were brought under control : look where you would, you were sure to see a Brahman. You could not ignore him : you could not escape him. In all relations of life, he held the upper hand ; he was here, there and everywhere. Knowledge is power, and none realised the truth of this saying better than Brahmans. They thus appropriated to themselves the functions of priest, teacher, physician, poet and philosopher.

These are the only active forces in society : The majority of men are only passive recipients of influences emanating from the active and energetic portion of the community. The brain guides the movements of the body. The Brahmans became the brain of the new community which they founded : the body was represented by the vast hordes of aboriginal tribes, the least competent of which are the Pariahs of today. The others ranged themselves in the social system under the Brahman at various distances from him.

The chiefs he placed next to himself and so forth. Then the Brahman needed no force to rule the people. He himself had become the greatest force of all in that society—the intellect and the conscience of it. He received spontaneous homage from the children and grand-children of those who had forgotten how he had come into the land and conquered their ancestors. The memory of the conflict died out : the fact of the Brahman's all-pervading activity and benevolence was patent to all. The social leaders whom he had replaced were forgotten ; his claim to leadership could not but be recognised by their

descendants. He was so wise, so beneficent, so worthy of worship : let him rule. The sense of racial self-respect naturally grew weak and finally perished as time went by. Brahmanisation was in progress : the Brahman gave freely of his knowledge : he instructed his subjects in the doctrines of his religion. He had deprived them of national independence, but then he offered them something more valuable in return, the gift of eternal life. So the children of his enemies became his pupils, his converts, and his patients : the conqueror successfully established himself as Patron and Leader. Then the social conquest was completed. Then Hindu dominion was finally consolidated.

It is clear that the existence of the two other requisites of success must have helped the Brahman in his work. He recited *Kathas* : the "native" audience listened to him. He rewarded those that come. The refractory spirits who stayed away out of national self-respect were not honoured by the rulers. He opened a dispensary : the "natives" flocked to it. Those that did not come from a feeling of national pride became "marked men" and so son. The common platform on which the two races could meet on terms of *inequality* was provided by the Brahman : it was really the field of battle for the social conquest. Rather, it was a snare, for there was no contest He who walked into it was crptured. For inequality of status was an essential condition of the intercourse carried on that platform. The growth of a class who did not consider it derogatory to the national honour to stand on that platform was the effect of the Brahman's teaching coupled with the natural decay of manly qualities in the subject race.

Let us apply the wisdom of our forefathers to the solution of our difficulties today. They employed it for aggression, they were strong : let us use it for self defence, we are weak.

How does the social conquest of the Hindus by the British people proceed ? Are the three factors of success present in this case ?

(*a*) *The control of all activities* :—Schools and colleges for general knowlege, medical college, law colleges, hospitals, post offices, pipes for water, etc., etc.

(*b*) *A common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality* :—Legislative councils, schools and colleges durbars, courts, municipalities, district boards, occasional public meetings, etc., etc.

(*c*) *A class of men ready to avail themselves of social intercourse, on terms of inequality* :—The lauded gentry, the "English educated" classes, etc., etc.

So the framework is complete. Let us examine how the machine works.

1. The British people have applied themselves to the task of controlling and monopolising the guidance of all activities and movements in Hindu society.

Education :—They have established schools and colleges at which our boys learn the arts and sciences *under* them. The national system of education which prevailed at the time of their arrival in the country has been almost destroyed. It did not suit their purpose. It was under the control of the Brahmans. It attached the greatest importance to national literature and history. It kept up the idea of national individuality. It gave the position of *guru* to a different class of persons. The British wanted that place of honour for themselves. Two kings can not rule even in the educational world. So the Brahman went and is going : the Briton is stepping into his place.

Medicine. The teacher is there : the physician follows him. The *Ayurveda* has been undermined by a system of medical colleges on the foreign pattern, in which the English are necessarily the teachers and masters. The report of the Committee of Public Instruction dated December 1831, noted with satisfaction, that European medicine was driving out the *Ayurveda.*

There is a Civil Surgeon in every district. He poses as the superior sort of *Vaidya.* And some of us take him at his own valuation. The Indian assistant surgeons are his pupils. If they can not find a way out of some difficulty, they must run to him. He keeps the dispensaries going. He is the great

healer of the sick in that part of the country. Others who heal do so in his name, for they have learned the art at his feet. Meanwhile the Hindu *Vaidya* sinks into obscurity. He is a mere piece of antiquity. The respect and influence which he used to command is slowly transferred to his great rival. Another point in the game is scored by the foreigner. Another position of honour and power is resigned by Brahman and occupied by the Briton.

Religion :—The domain of religion is as yet free from foreign influence. It is our last refuge. The British people have captured nearly all the bastions of the social citadel.

Religion and some things connected with it have not been touched with rude fingers. *A sapping and mining process has however been commenced.* It is twofold.

(1) The destruction of the Hindu religious system from the outside. The Government grants equal toleration to all religious bodies. The Hindus are at present a non-proselytising nation. Under these circumstances, the Hindu religion must suffer. We do not convert followers of other creeds into our religious system : But Government allows Christians to baptise our children. We can not have a fair light under these conditions. Further, the educational system, established by the British Government, serves to weaken the foundations of Hinduism. This result was foreseen and even anticipated by the founders of the British educational system in India. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the first English Governor of Bombay, wrote in 1823 :

"In the meantime, the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them, and the only one is, to remove their prejudices and to communicate our own principles and opinions, by the diffusion of a national education."

I could quote the opinions of many other high officials to prove that the Government did not consult the interests of Hindu religion in establishing its schools and colleges.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's evidence before the House of Lords in 1853 contained the following candid confession :

"What we are doing is not to enter into an unseemingly and irritating conflict with the upholders of this ancient system (Hinduism) but to give an entirely new key to the natives, opening to them a very superior knowledge. The first effect of this introduction to a new system is to destroy entirely the influence of the ancient system upon their minds. In most instances they are never initiated in it. It is a great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years, and that if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way we would have them go ; all of our money then will be well laid out ; we shall have no prejudices to contend with, we shall have supple minds to deal with ; and we shall raise up a class of influential intelligent youth who will in the course of a few years become the active propagators of our system, with little or no assistance from us."

(*b*) *The control of the Hindu religious system from within.*

Recently, a number of Englishmen and Englishwomen have come forward as apostles of Hinduism, pure and undefiled. They presume to instruct us in our own holy Shastras. They profess great love for our religion. Some of them may be receiving support from Government, for aught we know, for they can obtain access to our princes and hold conversation with them for hours together in private. A solitary English lady, coming no body knows whence, could not become the adviser and confidante of great Hindu princes, if she were an object of suspicion to the Government. Further, the Government is ready to do every thing needful for the Central Hindu College. Thus we read that the Local Government enforced the Land Acquisition Act in order to buy up the dirty huts round the college premises, though there were doubts whether the college was a public body within the meaning of the Act. I wonder if Government can confer similar favours on the Gurukula at Hardwar or the University at Nuddea. We also learn that when the foundation stone of the Kashmir Hindu

College was laid, both Mrs. Besant and the Resident delivered excellent speeches. The college is under the control of the English "Friends of Hinduism". We notice another feature of the movement represented by the Central Hindu College : all the position of trust, responsibility and social leadership are occupied by Englishmen and Englishwomen. This may be an accident, but it is certainly remarkable. Mrs. Besant is President of the Board of Trustees, a body composed of distinguished Hindu gentlemen and renowned Pandits. The Executive Committee for 1906 was thus constituted :

President	Mrs. Besant
Vice-President	Mr. Richardson
Secretary and Treasurer	Mr. Arundale

There is no Hindu occupying an important office on the Executive Committee of an institution which is emphatically *the Central Hindu College.* Then, there is a small *Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha*, an ordinary student's association, but even in that body we can not miss the controlling foreign agency, for Mrs. Besant is Patron and Mr. Arundale is Honorary Treasurer. Finally, we note that the Principal of the Central Hindu College Girl's School is Miss Arundale, the Vice-Principal is Miss Palmer, the Honorary Secretary is Miss Wilson. Report for 1905-6).

An amusing piece of information is supplied by the Report on page 17 :

"A new departure in the way of debating societies was introduced by Mr. Arundale—A Local Parliament. The forms of the House of Commons are observed—Politics are barred."

A "Parliament" from which Politics are barred, must be an interesting institution altogether.

So there you are—an Englishwomen is President of a body composed of the *elite* of Hinduism, influential landowners and learned priests of Benares. And they voluntarily pay her homage.

The spontaneity of the homage on the part of the ruled race denotes the success of the social conquest. That is the pheno-

menon of the social conquest Englishmen and English women honoured almost as priests by some of us ! Mark the sad spectacle : ponder over its deep significance. It is the death knell of the Hindu race The innermost defences have been battered. Nay, there is a lower deep beneath the lowest deep. I saw Hindu girls learning from German and English mistresses at a certain girl's school which has been established through Mrs. Besant's influence. That is the final stage of the social conquest. The zanana has been penetrated by the representatives of the ruling race in the guise of teachers and religious instructors. The voices of those dear little girls as they repeated their lessons at the feet of the German mistresses fell on my ears like the wail of the dead. It appeared to me as if History were carrying the corpse of our nation to the eternal burning-ground of oblivion and these girls were muttering the sad slow *Ram Ram* of funeral import.

There is a dearth of sound thinkers amongst the Hindus Let us learn wisdom from the confessions of our religions enemies, even if we are unable to think for ourselves. Mr. J N. Farquhar, a Christian Propagandist who is of course in enemy of the Hindu religion, says in his article in the *Contemporary Review* :

"The leader and organiser of the central organisation is not a Brahman, is not even a Hindu, but is a foreigner and a women. How incredible, the religion of caste led by a foreigner ! a woman the champion of Brahmanism ! But *this fact is not merely curious : it is pregnant with meaning. It is a visible embodiment of the truth that the enemy is in the citadel.*"

The attempt of Mrs. Besant and other Europeans to control and guide Hindu religious life represents the last phase of the social conquest which was inaugurated with the establishment of schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries.

Of course, the English "Friends of Hinduism" may be unconscious of the significance of what they are doing. They may be sincere and noble philanthropists. The idea that they are not obnoxious to Government is here advanced only as a hypothesis. But the fact remains all the same that the little

success they have achieved, represents the completion of the social conquest of Hindus by Europeans. That is its effect, whatever the motives of the workers may be. Thus Englishmen, who are Government officials, are trying to oust the Brahman from the positions of Adhyapak (teacher) and Vaidya (Physician). Englishmen, who are not in the service of the Government, are occupying his place as religions leaders—*gurus* and *rishis*. When the Briton is teacher, physician and priest, either as a bishop of Indian converts to Christianity or as a real or sham champion of Hinduism, the social conquest will be complete. Then the excessive military expenditure of which the Congress complains, will be reduced.

II. A common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality.

The feelings of national pride and self-respect having been mixed through the absence of a national state and the influence of British schools and colleges, the second requisite for the social conquest is also provided by the British people themselves.

The policy of associating the Indians in the administration puts the sons of our social and intellectual leaders *under* the leadership of the English officer, who is their superior. When a Zamindar's son who only pays taxes and obeys the Laws in acknowledgment of the political conquest, goes and applies for a post which is at the disposal of the Local Magistrate or the Provincial Lieutenant-Governor, he voluntarily assists in the social conquest of his race. There is no law which requires him to degrade himself and his nation in the eyes of the world by offering himself as a "servant" of the Government. It is a matter of common knowledge that the district officer cannot treat a Jagirdar's son who is his subaltern with the respect and consideration which he showed to his father who held an independent status.

Legistative Councils are also such platforms. A member of the English nation is necessarily the president. And among those who are gathered together under his Readership are

debasing themselves before ordinary Englishmen belonging to the middle class in England? The princes, who are "educated" at chief's colleges, should of course salute the Principal of the institution at which they read. So it has at last come to this, that scions of ancient Royal houses should acknowledge the superior social position of an ordinary English graduate from Cambridge and Oxford! There is no law to that effect, but the surroundings created for our young men by the Government lead to that result. It is the peculiar feature of the social conquest that the element of coercion is largely absent from it. It is not altogether excluded, but it is not very much in evidence. Indeed the conquest would lose its significance if compulsion were employed to any large extent.

Sometimes we provide the British people with the opportunity of assuming the position of the Brahman over us. Some of us hold conferences under the presidency of European officials. Nay, even the august assembly which is supposed to represent the combined wisdom and patriotism of all India, is so devoid of national self-respect that it has now and then invited Europeans, who do not know Sanskrit, who despise our Shastras and eat beef, to preside over its deliberations! An assembly of Hindu "patriots" in British India under the leadership of an Englishman, a member of the conquering race! Could we imagine a meeting of Hindu Patriots under the presidency of Shahab-ud-din Ghori in the year 1200 A.D. or a "National Congress" of Hindus held in the year 1660 under Shaista Khan? The utter wreck of national self-respect which has followed the establishment of the British schools and colleges in India is illustrated by the following sentences which occur in a speech delivered by Babu Bepin C. Pal in 1904 at a meeting of the Congress presided over by Sir Henry Cotton:

"I am not ashamed, Ladies and Gentlemen, though I am ashamed in other connections to go down on bended knees to any authority—I am not ashamed, despite my sturdy and sensitive patriotism, to go down on bended knees before one whom we have apointed as our leader and as the master of this congress."

Of course, Mr. Pal had not then been converted to the New Gospel of True Patriotism.

The spectacle of an assembly of learned Hindus, paying homage in this servile and barbarous fashion to one who was the sign and symbol of the political conquest of their nation and its extinction as a member of the comity of nations, must have struck our intelligent foreigner, say a Frenchman or a German, as inexplicably absurd and ludicrous. I too cou'd have laughed at it, were it not so tragic in its deep significance. It showed not only that we were not patriotic in our actions, but that we did not even understand the meaning of the words 'Patriotism' and 'self-respect'—which is a much more serious affair altogether. Thus does "educated" India become the laughing-stock of the world ! Thus does the social conquest proceed from point to point, like an all-devouring fire consuming the last remnants of national pride and patriotic feeling. The exigencies of the social conquest direct the Englishman to meet the Hindu as a teacher in the class-room, as a physician in the hospital, as a magistrate in the court, as an official superior in the office, as a president and ruler in the Municipality, the District Board, the Legislative Council and the Durbar, but *never* as a friend in the club or the tavern. He wishes to play the role of a patron, a guide, a benefector or a master in social intercourse with the Hindus. He requires a platform for intercourse on terms of inequality in order to carry on the work of social conquest, and he creates that platform. He finds a way or makes it.

III. In a healthy and living nation, no class of persons could be found to initiate the work of the social conquest. It is one thing to pay taxes and kep quiet : it is quite a different thing to come forward as an aspirant for the "honour" of sitting on a Municipal Committee or a Legislative Council. The existence of candidates for the humiliating positions of Deputy-Commissioner, of Judge of a High Court of British India, and of a member of the Legislative Council indicates how far the social conquest has already proceeded, how near to acquiring the place of the Brahman the pushing Briton has come. How can an orthodox Hindu who refuses even to drink a glass of water

of the process which has only begun are already visible. These must be counteracted in order to prepare the way for political regeneration. On this occasion, I do not propose to discuss the methods of resisting this social conquest. I only ask Hindu India the great question, "Shall the Briton be your Brahman ?"

THE WEALTH OF THE NATION

"From those to whom much is given, much is also expected".

Adan Smith wrote a famous book on "the wealth of nations" in which he expounded the principles of a so-called science of political economy. But silver and gold do not form the chief wealth of nations, nor indeed corn and cattle. We shall discuss in what the true wealth of nations and humanity really consists, and how it should be employed for the destruction of evil.

The enduring wealth of the world consists in the intellect and the character of its men and women. This moral and mental capital leads to all happiness. Its proper investment should be the chief care of all noble souls. Its fruitful use determines the future of the race. Its waste or misuse brings terrible penalties with it. It is the source of our food, our clothing, our medicine, our pleasures, our power over nature, our beautiful social institutions, our imposing fabric of civilisation, our glories of the past, our efforts in the present and our dreams of the future. Material wealth, which supplies the economic needs of society, spring from the conservation and development of this inner born of plenty. Savage races starve in the midst of vast natural resources in Africa because they are morally and mentally dwarfed, while civilised men live in ease and comfort on the bleak moors of Scotland and in the desolate regions of Canada because they possess the secret of moral and intellectual development to some extent. In proportion as we learn to make a right use of intellect and character, we shall be free from poverty, ignorance, and disease. The subjective masters the objective; the unseen is stronger than the seen; and man's mind and conscience minister to his body even more effectively than the latter supports the former

As regards moral power, it is not much in evidence, as far as a superficial observer can judge. But a more careful survey reveals hidden springs of moral force, which have not even been tapped. India is sadly deficient in moral strength, but, as we shall see by and by, her small stock is all wasted and misued by persons wanting in judgment and foresight. The world can never have too much of character, and India has in fact too little of it. But that little should be spent for worthy objects. We are more foolish than selfish, more demented than depraved.

Now, how does India use her intellect, that rare force which builds up the social organism, wrests nature's secrets from her, niggardly grasps and lends beauty and dignity to life ? India employs her intellect chiefly for three purposes :— (*i*) prostitution (*ii*) philosophy, (*iii*) amusement.

(*i*) Modern India produces a large number of intellectual prostitutes, men who use this sacred gift for personal purposes and earn wealth by offering their talents for filthy lucre.

The old Pundits of India are free from this taint to some extent, as money-making is not the only pursuit for which the pupil is trained at Benares or Nuddea. But an alarmingly large class of intellectual hirelings is growing up in our midst and it lives on the misery and ruin of the people. Thus India's intellect kills her instead of being a source of joy and strength to her. It is a sad and pitiful truth that intellect has almost always sold itself for money in all countries of the world.

But this abuse of a precious personal gift is as reprehensible as similar traffic by a woman in her beauty, and deserves to be described in the same terms. Intellect should be employed for the social welfare, for it is such a powerful and irresistible weapon that its use for selfish ends dissolves a society into warring atoms and undoes the work of centuries of social evolution. Let the man of intellect beware how he acts, for his life can be a great blessing or an unmitigated curse for the world. Modern India is money-mad and even intellect has been bitten.

Instead of dedicating themselves to the furtherance of truth and justice, many able men constitute themselves the militia of falsehood and deceit. Capital is a hopeless monster without these paid servants. Thus India's men of intellect are busy begging crusts of bread from the rich and the proud, while the poor and humble are being ground to the dust. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." If a man turns his intellect against his fellow creatures, the curse of Judas falls on him : "Better would it have been for him if he had never been born."

(*ii*) In India wisdom is nearly allied to folly, and what portion of mental energy remains after this universal money-hunt is eaten up by barren metaphysics. Metaphysics has been the curse of India. It has blighted her history and compassed her ruin. It has converted her great men into miserable quibblers, and led them into useless channels of inquiry and effort.

It has been the dangerous will-o'-the wisp of Indian intellect during many centuries. It has elevated sophistry to the rank of an art, and substituted vain fancies for knowledge. It has condemned India's intellect to run in the same old groove for hundreds of years. It has blinded her seers and led them to mistake phantoms for realities. It has given us darkness for light, and queer word puzzles for solutions of great problems. It has wasted more intellectual energy than can be computed in the words. What noble lives it has ruined ? What mighty minds it has held in ignoble thraldom ? Like a traitor in the camp, it has appeared the closest ally of truth, while it has been her worst enemy. Wearing the mask of wisdom it has concealed its brutish ugliness. Arrogant, pretentious, verbose and purblind, it has taken its cacklings for an oracle and its fantastic word-towers for solid piles of thought masonry. India has paid dearly for her attachment to this treacherous sine. In vain did Buddha warn the Hindus against shallow metaphysical theories. Buddha's wise words were forgotton and the great principles that he preached were derided. As the bird is drawn into the mouth of the snake, Hindu intellect felt an irresistible attraction towards metaphysics. It is an intellectual opiate

and has wrought with deadly effect on our arts and sciences. Its upas-like shadow destroys all independent and fruitful activity all round. Let us have done with it. Metaphysics was invented in the childhood of the human race. But India has been playing with the toys of childhood in mature age. No wonder that she is in intellectual tutelage to the west. Much intellect is employed in India for unworthy ends. But the tragic feature of the situation is that even those who wish good to the community misapply their energy, and give us stones when we want bread. While so much transcendental nonsense is being perpetrated, famines are desolating the land pestilence and malaria hang like a pall on town and country, and there is not a single decent representative institution, technical institution, laboratory or library in the whole country, Science, economics, and politics are anathema to the enlightened men of India. They love only the eternal varieties and the deep secrets of theosophy or Brahma Vidya ! My friends while you are going into ecestasy over the intolerable twaddle of many of your Shastras and quoting Schopenhauer and Max Muller in their praise, the world is stealing a march on you by scientific research, economic reforms and political progress. While you are explaining to your people the ineffable joys of trance or "Samadhi" another trance is already upon them—the trance of starvation and the deadly past. The Upanishads claims to "expound" that by knowing which every thing is known. This mediaeval quest for "the absolute" is the basis of all the spurious metaphysics of India The treatises are full of absurd conceits, quaint fancies and chaotic speculations and we have not learned that they are worthless. We keep moving in the old rut ! we edit and re-edit the old books instead of translating the classics of European social thought. What would Europe be if Frederic, Harrison, Brieux, Bebel, Anatole France, Herve, Haeckel, Giddings and Marshall should employ their time in composing treatises on Duns, Scotus and Thomas Aquinas and discussing the merits of the laws of the Pentatuech and the poetry of Beswulf ? Indian Pundits and graduates seem to suffer from a kind of mania for what is effete and antiquated. Thus an institution established by progressive men aims at leading our youths through Sanskrit Grammar to the

Vedas *via* the six Darshans ! What false move in the quest for wisdom ? It is as if a carvan should travel across the desert to the shores of the Dead Sea in search of fresh water ? Young men of India look not for wisdom in the misty parchments of your metaphysical treatises. There is nothing but an endless round of verbal jugglery there. Read Rousseau and Voltaire, Plato and Aristotle, Haeckel and Spencer, Marx and Tolstoi, Ruskin and Comte, and other European thinkers, if you wish to understand life and its problem. You are not living in the tenth century before Christ. You do not travel in village carts : you do not read manuscript-rolls. Then why be so backward in your studies as to move round and round the old track discovered by your sages long ago ? They were wise men at that time, but we have other wise men now for our age.

No generation has monopoly of wisdom. Why would you prepare yourself for the future by looking back to a very remote past ? It is inexplicable folly. Leave metaphysics to triflers and punsters and devote your time to the study of economics and politics. Let the dead bury their dead. Let idle dreamers quarrel over theology and break their heads over "God's revelations, and the profound conundrums of philosophy. We have better work to do. Life is short and much remains to be done. We have no time for such puerile disputes about religious ceremonies and doctrines. To us they all look alike. We need not differentiate between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Turn to the great social, political and scientific thinkers of the west, who have created modern civilisation with liberty, social equality, scientific research, toleration, rationalism and fraternity for its basic principles. Bacon said, "Histories make men wise." These words themselves are pregnant with wisdom. Sociology is the source of wisdom not metaphysics or theology. And for India economics and politics are the most important branches of sociology at present.

(*iii*) The third channel of activity cut out for itself by the intellect of India is imaginative literature. Poetry and fiction dealing with the old-fashioned themes of love or social customs

have occupied some masterminds of our generation in Bengal, Oudh, Gujrat and other parts of the country. Such literature is very noble and instructive, but India has enough of poetry and literature to last her for some time to come. We must have necessaries before luxuries. The fine arts can wait till we have secured a sufficient supply of science and sociology. India's intellect should not be wasted in this manner at present, for we are terribly poor in every branch of useful literature. Amusement comes after instruction.

How does India use her second source of national wealth, *viz*, moral power ? She makes about as bad a use of it as of her mental force. Contemplation in isolation is one favourite method of spending time adopted by India's noblest sons. They rise above petty selfish desires and ambitions. but fall into the vacuous abyss of contemplation and inaction. They wish to follow out the idea of the man of renunciation in every detail. Thus India has hundreds of really sincere and aspiring young men and women, who are free from all taint of greed and worldliness but they are altogether useless for any purpose that one may appreciate. They have established monasteries in remote nooks in the mountains in order to realise the *Brahman*. Instead of bearing the heat and burden of the day along with their fellowmen, they aim at reaching a superior stage of illumination by practising all sorts of mysterious pastures and other funny devices of a crude mysticism. Many of these well-meaning ascetics are indifferent to praise and blame, hunger and thirst, money and power. They have indeed attained a very high degree of moral self culture on the negative side. But alas ! all their nobility of soul does not help their brethren in the least, for they are ignorant of sociology. All their stock and store consists in the Vedanta-sutras, Upanishads, and the sonorous monosyllable "Om". This last word seems to do duty for all history and science. This "Om" appears to be a universal symbol of the intellectual inertia produced by "spirituality" in India. Whenever a saint has nothing to think about, he takes refuge in "Om". What else can these misguided enthusiasts do ? Their knowledge of facts is so scanty. Individual realisation is their object, not social regeneration. And as

to politics, they are wholly foreign to their work. Politics are concerned with taxes, tariffs, class-struggles, rank and power — all wordly affairs with which the hermit does not want to contaminate himself. I know of a very learned graduate who took a vow of renunciation and then spent three years in the Himalayas in the study of the Upanishads, as if all the wisdom of the world were contained in them ! And he thought he had received full enlightenment from this course, and had become a wise man fit to guide others to *Brahman* This instance shows us clearly how moral power is wasted in India. The ideal of renunciation is defective on its positive side. A false goal is set before the disciple. History and science are despised as "phenomenal" things The great "spiritual" knowledge, wi h consists in realisation and the repetition of "Om" is prized above all earthly arts and sciences. Thus India's renunciation brings her no good, but on the contrary misleads and weakens her.

"Samadhi" or trance is regarded as the acme of spiritual progress ! How strange it is that a capacity for swooning away should be considered the mark of wisdom ! It is very easy to lose consciousness if one has strong emotions and feeble intellect. That is why ladies faint so often on the slightest provocation. But in India "Samadhi", is the eighth stage of Yoga which only "paramahansas" can reach. These be thy Gods, O Israel ! To look upon an abnormal psychological condition produced by artificial means as the sign of enlightenment was a folly reserved for Indian philosophers. No wonder books and laboratories are despised, for no knowledge or experiment is needed to make one swoon away at intervals ! What an ideal of perfection !

(*b*) Another mode of wasting precious moral power is emotional mysticism. Many sects are devoted to the worship of Krishna, Rama and other deities. Parties of devotees would sing hymns, to the accompaniment of music, and work themselves upto a high pitch of emotional excitement. They would weep and dance in rapture, singing the name of the Lord. They would forget all worldly cares and duties. Now this exaltation of the spirit betokens some capacity of moral

enthusiasm, for a man who can be lifted out of himself by an idea whatsoever has an element of idealism in his character. He is not altogether of the earthly, he has some fine chords in his nature, which require to be properly touched in order to produce beautiful spiritual music. But this method of exhausting oneself in songs and dances is one of the worst possible ways of evoking latent moral energy in man. For one Chaitanya it gives us a thousand sentimental weak-minded and irresolute devotees who are good for nothing in any practical work for righteousness. The name of the Lord alone arouses them. They lose their common sense and their worship has no effect in making them wise citizens. As to economics and politics, the name of the Lords is in no wise connected with such grossly mundane matters. What has the *bhakta* to do with taxes and representation, exports and imports ? He rejoices in his beloved lord and sees him everywhere. He is lost in the lord. India has had several such *bhaktas* whose lives and deeds are narrated in a treatise which is popular in Northern India. But alas ! all this *bhakti* avails not to cure any evil. It only takes away particularly sensitive persons from the work of active altruism. It gives them a fictitious object of devotion instead of teaching them that every suffering child is Krishna and every sorrowful brother-man is Rama whom they should love and adore. It is sad that men have always sought far and wide for some thing to love when they had one another to love at all times without any arduous search. They have worshipped stars and suns, trees and animals, gods and goddesses, dead heroes and heroines, while they forgot that just by their side was all that the noblest religion could give them for their whole-hearted service—their brother-man. This extravagant *bhakti* mania is as pernicious as the *Yoga*-craze of the metaphysicians. Some try to think and look inwards : others try to weep and dance. And all the time ignorance, poverty and disease march triumphant through the land.

(c) Superstition also carries away a portion of India's moral energy. Pilgrimages and vows of abstinence reveal a wonderful amount of moral power in the people. A country that can send thousands of poor men on distant pilgrimages

from which some never return, cannot be regarded as devoid of moral stamina. Contempt of danger and death is never so strikingly shown as in the difficult and perilous pilgrimages to Badrikashrama and Amarnath. These soldiers of superstition display all the heroism of veternas in their eager thirst for the prize of their devotion. These pilgrimages are vast object-lessons of idealism as it shows itself among the common people. They are really the barometers of moral enthusiasm. But alas ! enthusiasm is all wasted like rain in the ocean On account of the complete absence of social and political thought, the people can satisfy their spiritual instincts, only in these foolish ways. The student of sociology knows, that religion is only a safety valve for our higher nature, and that a religious people can achieve much in any line of activity by changing the objective of their efforts. A man who can risk his life to see Badrikashrama or bathe in the Ganges is also capable of much self sacrifice for other noble causes, if they are presented to him In India religion and mysticism diverst all the moral force of the people into unprofitable channels, leaving little for science and social progress.

(*d*) A large part of moral power is taken up in futile or successful attempts to check minor evils in the social system. Here the workers are sound in spirit, but wrong in their methods. Thus we find many ardent youths contenting themselves with distributing grain among the poor and nursing the sick all their lives. These men are very noble and self denying. But they do not understand that charity can not solve the problem of hunger and disease in India, or, for the matter of that, in any country in the world. They suffer from ignorance, not from selfishness. Their moral energy is not employed to good purpose Again we find persons preaching temperance, vegetarianism, caste-amalgamation, and a hundred other things. Here the evil is due to lack of knowledge They do not realise what is best for the country at present. They do not probe into the causes of social ills, but just deal with the effects India is not going to ruin because some people eat meat or drink wine, but because her economic situation is desperate. But very few of our reformers have ever studied a single book on economic questions. In the way stupid ideals

are set up : useless movements are organised and many young men are misled. The day of redemption is put off further and further, as new movements are organised on wrong lines by foolish or cunning men. Everything is said or done except that which should be said and done. Everyone is very earnest and busy, but without wisdom. All sorts of unimportant evils attract the attention of some 'patriots'' but the greatest evil of all somehow or other escapes their notice. We have seen that contemplation, *bhakti*, pilgrimages, religious preaching and useless movements are responsible for the waste of moral energy in India. We are indeed thirsty though the Ganges flows by—as the popular proverb puts it. How is it that the country is in such a sad plight, while hundreds of men and women take vows of renunciation every year ? In Europe a similar state of things existed in the middle ages, when there were so many saints but famine, pestilence and servitude afflicted the people all the time. In the thirteenth century Europe produced such moral giants as St. Francis and St. Dominic, but we are happier in the twentieth century though the sum-total of moral energy is less now than it was in those days. The reason is that Europe has more knowledge and common-sense now. At that time people rang church-bells, did penance for their sins by fasting whole days, and covered themselves with sack cloth and ashes when the plague appeared in their midst. But now we do just the reverse. We eat good food, wear clean clothes, disinfect the town, establish quarantine regulations and defy the plague to do its worst.

Thus a little science now confers more happiness on mankind than all the uninstructed piety of the middle ages. Again all the exhortations of the church to kings and rulers did not secure good government, but the simple device of establishing representative institutions has done away with all the abuses which passionate sermons could not check in the slightest degree. The saints of the middle ages had no idea of the right way of doing things. St. Francis loved the poor and would have given his life for them, but he did not understand that poverty was due to feudalism and capitalism which should be abolished if the poor were to enjoy freedom and happiness. Thus the French revolution which was prepared and guided

by men who were very inferior to the great men of the church in moral power and personality, actually did more good to the world than all the efforts of the friars, because the latter were not wise and did not go to the root of things Pasteur and Koch were not saintly ascetics but they were greater benefactors of humanity than all the nurses of the religious organisations, because they employed their intellect and zeal in the right way in the crusade against disease. Thus the history of Europe in the middle ages furnishes us with an object-lesson. There was much religion and many saints, but all was of no avail because science, economics and politics were neglected. As soon as the philosophers of eighteenth century saw that the ecclesiastical methods were inadequate, modern Europe turned from prayers, sermons and threats of excommunication to laboratories, parliaments. and socialism. The result showed the enormous waste of moral energy that had kept mankind in bondage to evil in the old days. Voltaire, Rousseau, Marx, Darwin, Laboisier, Cuvier, Laplace and Caxton were not personally as noble and pure as St. Bernard, St. Francis and St. Xavier, but modern Europe has conquered disease, poverty, injustice and ignorance much more effectively than when its leaders were spiritual heroes. And the conquest is still in progress The difference is due to right methods and ideas, not to superior moral power. A brave general, with no knowledge of strategy, will be defeated by an ordinary commander who has received special training.

Who would waste a drop of water in the desert cities of Rajputana ? and yet here are thousands of noble men who could be of great service to all if they were wise, but who are simply worse than useless on account of their unwisdom. Here is this stream of moral power perpetually flowing without fertilizing any land without quenching the thirst of any wayfarer. It runs on for ever and ever to the salt ocean of useless effort and fruitless endeavour. Young men of India you should turn your back upon all this fatal tragedy. You should see that the Vedas of to-day are the five fundamental sciences of chemistry, physics, biology, psychology and sociology, and that the angas and upungas are their division and subdivision like astronomy, geology, history, economics and politics, etc.

etc. When you feel discontented with the humdrum life of selfish worldliness, go to science and sociology : come to the west, the mother of the arts and sciences today. Do not in your methods try to follow in the footsteps of your old rishis, but set up new ideals of rishihood for the future. Teach the people that the old gods are dead and that the places of pilgrimage for them now are found in other parts of the world. Benares and Puri have had their day. What is there at Benares but hideous temples, half-burnt corpses, fat bulls and fat priests ? What is there at Puri but cholera and waves idl' breaking on the beach ? The places for your pilgrimages now are Paris, Geneva, Barcelona, Milwankee, Yasnya, Palyana, Jena, Heidelberg, etc. These are points of the globe to which all hearts fondly turn in these days.

Young men of India you should come into line with the world imbibing the modern spirit. Do not skulk in your corner of Bharatavarsha munching stale bread baked by your great grand parents, and swearing from false pride that it is delicious. Your country is groaning under faithful evils. The whole world is one vast charnel-house and hospital. Turn your attention to sociological studies and the sciences. Try to concentrate all the energy of the country on the real problems that have to be solved. Ethics, science, economics, and politics should be to you in place of all the doctrines of the Vedas. Seek knowledge : do not run after phantoms. Learn from Europe : do not rub up old Hindu documents in this age. The wealth of the nation is being wasted on all sides. It is a woeful sight. Our errors in the past are costing us dear. Humanity is groping in the dark, while the path can be clearly seen by all who have eyes. But none are so blind as they who will not see.

SOME PHASES OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT IN INDIA

"Nothing is more dangerous than ignorance in action."

—Goethe

I propose to deal with some aspects of present-day social activity in India and appraise its true worth as a factor in

progress. All movement is not progress. There is circular motion like that of the bullocks at the persian wheel ; and there is retrogressive motion, like that of a man who loses his way in an unknown place. There is even a variety of motion, which is fatal, like that of a somnambulist who falls from the top of his house or that of a mouth that rushes towards the flame. In social work too, all activity is not useful, beneficial or commendable. There are such things as misdirected energy, wasted effort, and misapplied enthusiasm. Hence the well-known phrase, which speaks of "zeal" worthy of a better cause " In our fight against sin, ignorance and suffering in this world of sorrow and strife, wisdom is as necessary as virtue. Wise strategy is as essential for success in war as bravery and unity. Even so we must think twice before undertaking any enterprise for the good of humanity, lest we should make a false move and leave the world more miserable than we found it. The amount of moral energy in the whole world is so small that we cannot afford to lose any portion of it through ignorance and miscalculation. Evil is manifold and all powerful : it takes a thousand forms and stalks the earth in pride.

It exists in some shape or other in all lands. Poverty, premature death, disease, economic and social servitude, wickedness and ignorance form a sum-total of pain and agony under which our poor earth is groaning piteously night and day and how few are those who try to combat these evils ? How rare are those master souls whose hearts throb with all the hearts that ache, whose ears hear the sad wail of a suffering world coming like a funeral chant from hill and valley, plain and meadow ? And when we think of India, India the forlorn, India the favoured child of misfortune, India the pre destined victim of all scourges and calamities, that ever visited humanity on its weary march through the ages, what do we find. We find that the quantity of moral energy at the disposal of the idealist is extremely small, and its supply is precarious and uncertain. The well springs of moral power have been dried up, and the country is an ethical waste, and Dead Sea of moral stagnation.

"Where all life dies, Death lives, and nature breeds.
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,

Abominable, inutterable and worse,
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived."

The oases that greet the eye of the Arab traveller between Biskra and Timbuctoo across the Sahara are few and far between fewer, still are men of honour and courage in Indian public life, so few, indeed, that a stranger may take a lantern like Diogenes and search for them in day time. This being the case, it behoves us to conserve and utilise the little moral strength that is still left to us instead of misusing it through blindness, or panty:spirit. India cannot afford to lose one hour's good work through the ignorance of her sons. As I have pointed out the whole world is so unfortunately situated that it is a calamity if even one unselfish active man or woman is led astray from the path of Right Action. It is not action but Right Action that helps the world. But India is so poor that every cowrie is precious to her. Other countries have their hosts of patriots, philanthropists, and philosophers working for a better order of things. India can boast of only a few inepts, timid, blundering and lukewarm sons and daughters who even think of her future. In such a condition of abject moral and intellectual destitution. who would throw away even a dry crust, who would spend even a broken shell on luxuries or, worse still on poisonous drugs, advertised by quacks? Hence all young men and women in India have a great responsibility on their shoulders. They should use their ability and resources for the greatest good of the country after careful deliberation and with a keen sense of the importance of the issues involved. There are a hundred ways of doing wrong, but there is only one way of doing right at any given time and place.

If the blind follow the blind, we know where their journey will end.

Let us see how some movements, about which we hear so much in these days, fulfil the conditions which must be satisfied by all forms of activity before they can be approved by an imaginary Nestor of the Indian people in a critical mood. I shall take two of these movements and discuss their value in the work of Indian regeneration.

I.—*The "Depressed Classes Mission."* The conscience of the Hindus has been roused with regard to this great problem. The wrongs, that have not been righted since India began to be ashamed of Buddha's name and gospel have now been recognised as intolerable social anomalies. New India is up in arms against the unnatural and degrading class-distinctions that divide man from man or at leat Hindu from Hindu. The spirit underlying the crusade is admirable. It is the quintessence of idealism. The movement is still in its infancy, but it has already attracted earnest youths to its service. Now no one can cavil at the work of the missions. And I who believe in universal brotherhood cannot at least object to it in the name of Hinduism. Manu and the Bhagvad Gita may talk of four castes, but I do not acknowledge any caste-system, good, bad, or indifferent, even though all the Vedas should assent the diversity of the anatomical origin of the four castes with reference to Brahma's body or Hiranyaganbha's sacred person. Nor am I much interested in the question from the standpoint of "patriotic" Hindus, who wish to include the pariahs in the Hindu community with an eye to the census figures and the so called electoral contests with the Musalmans. I am not even touched with the ordinary Hindu's feeling of perturbed anxiety as to the inroads of Christianity by this near-gate of the Hindu-citadel. I look at the question simply as a lover of mankind, and rise above all parochial patriotic, and communal consideration. A pariah is a man and therefore must enjoy the rights and discharge the duties of a man. Hence I ought to welcome this movement as a very noble and praiseworthy attempt to bring the lost sheep back to the fold of progressive humanity.

But in this world of mystery and muddle things are not always what they seem. A thousand cross-threads of good and evil form the warp and woof of our life here below. And we have to examine all the circumstances and surroundings before pronouncing on the merits of any kind of social work. Life is not simple as Rule of Three. Right Action is rendered difficult by the numerous side-issues and modifying factors that have to be considered in every case.

Now this movement for the social elevation of the depressed classes has its comic side too, if we turn our eyes away from its tragic aspects for a moment. And let us first ask who are going to raise the pariahs of India to the level of manhood, who are trying to restore to the out-castes their long-lost birth right of equality with all men and women ? The answer is that it is the youths of India who have undertaken the task. And pray what kind of social equality is it which they offer to the "untouchable" ? We learn what it is the inestimable boon of social equality with the Hindus, with the Brahman, the Kshatriya and the Vaishya. So far, so good. But here comes the ludicrous part of the whole show. Are these saviours of the pariahs themselves on the level of humanity ? Do they themselves occupy the position of average human dignity and respectability to which they want to raise the unfortunate pariah ? They say that the Sudra lives all his life in darkness on account of his low social position, which robs him of ordinary human rights and denies him all chance of developing his manhood. Very true. The pariah is under a shadow but are these Hindus themselves basking in the sunshine of manhood and natural environments ? Who are they, these graduates and Brahmins and gentlemen and landowners and princes that seek to make a man of the pariah ? Are they themselves *men* in any sense of the word that a civilised person would accept ? They are themselves pariahs in the world and they wish to "elevate" the Sudras of India to their own lofty and enviable "social position". Social position indeed ! All Hindus are pariahs in the society of civilised men and women whether they are rajas or valets, priests or sweepers, sarasvalas or nama-sudras, mahamahopadhyayas or chandalas. Your internal distinctions do not raise any among you to the pedestal of humanity. You still remain in the sub-human strata of society along with the Hottentots, the Zulus, the Kaffirs, the Egyptians, the Burmese, the Annamites, Yeddahs and Papuans. You may classify yourselves as ringworms and tapeworms and silkworms and hookworms and necatorworms, but that does not raise you above the genusworm in the slightest degree.

It is amusing as well as disheartening to find that these Hindu graduates desire to raise the pariahs to the level of

other Hindus who are themselves no better. What a game of self-deception and self-induced blindness! They assume that it would be a great thing for a Sudra to dine with a Brahmin and visit him at his house. They forget that *if that is all* then not much would be gained thereby, as it would be only a case of one Sudra mixing on terms of equality with another Sudra. But the gulf that separates Sudras or pariahs from average civilised men and women is so immense in comparison with the distance that may divide one clean and literate Sudra from another dirty and illiterate Sudra that any rapprochement between the higher and lower Sudras does not count at all in the work of real social improvement which humanity requires. The silkworm may be proud that it has a glossy appearance and that its name is mentioned and its products are worn at the courts of princes, but it is as much a worm as the hook-worm. Even if the hookworm were put on mulberry trees and spoken of with the same respect and consideration as the lucky silkworm, they would both be far from attaining to the stature of humanity. If I may borrow an image from the phraseology of Reincarnation, I may say that both must be born again in order to gain the form of men. As worms they may be good, clean, intelligent, useful and even happy worms, but they can never rise above their natural status of creeping things. The Hindu graduates form an association for raising the pariahs to human dignity and respectability! As well might the spaniels and terriers of Europe form a society to elevate the street curs of Asia to the true canine status, so that the latter may also be admitted to the drawing rooms of fashionable ladies and the laps of well-to-do spinsters in London and Paris! I will say to the misguided champions of the depressed classes, Missions—"Physician, Heal thyself." How I wish that a Mark Twain should open the eyes of these sincere and noble workers to the extremely ridiculous character of their well-meant efforts on behalf of the pariahs! The lame men of the world have formed a battalion to help the cripples! The purblind wish to restore sight to the sand-blind?

'Religious education" is to be a special feature of this movement. The prospectus, of course, duly provides for all kinds of education, technical, scientific, artistic and other. This

is only just and proper when a new scheme is launched forth. Let us examine if your young men can help the cause of progress by furthering these plans. First, what is "religious education"? I have never been able to discover what Hinduism is. Some deists say that God exists but we cannot know what He is like. Many persons seem to hold the same view of "Hinduism". The founders of the University declare that doctrines common to all Hindu sects will be taught. I believe that such common doctrines will be found to be mere commonplace truisms when the process of churning the ocean of Hindu theology for these gems is finished. But are we to teach truth at a University ; or only same ideas held by all Hindus ? If we teach religion at all, we must attach more importance to Truth than to the unanimous approval of the 250 million Hindus, among whom are found polytheists, pantheists, theists, atheists, animists and a few other specimens for a Museum of Creeds. Further, are the future leaders of India to chew the end of old Hindu thought for all time without daring to think for themselves ? Were all great religious truths and ideals picked and preserved in the Upanishads, the Gita, the Darshans and other standard treatises of "Hindu religion" for the use of all Hindus through the ages ? It is sickening to hear this cant of religious education from the lips of men to whom religion seems *to be* not a sacred light for personal guidance but on instrument for establishing so-called national unity or composing class strife in a demoralised and lifeless community. We know many persons who ask us to bow to the four Vedas because all Hindus do so. *That* is a "common doctrine" of Hinduism, beyond a shadow of doubt. Now I protest against this religious mummery in the name of truth and progress We do not want our children to be fed on the mouldy crumbs picked up in the dusty pantry of Hinduism by these new zealous caterers of the Hindu people. We do not want our young men and women to grow up in hypocrisy and spiritual inertia, because forsooth the Hindu people must remain united, and there is nothing to keep them together but, these intellectual fetters which should be worn as emblems of unity. Unity is not worth having at such a price. Is not such a "religious" education being imported every day by thousands of priests and friars ? India is in no

danger of losing these old texts yet. It is strange that every well wisher of India begins to ransack the already bankrupt treasury of Sanskrit learning instead of bringing to India the accumulated riches of the whole world. It is so easy to regenerate India by quarrelling anew over Vedic texts and repeating mantras morning and evening. But it is difficult to introduce the great ideas of social equality and personal dignity of scientific research, rationalism of economic freedom and organisation of public spirit and political principle, of popular Government and social progress. Now what will these youths receive by way of "religious education". I suppose that they will be compelled to revere the Vedas which they can never read, to remember the eternal distinction between the immutable divine sruti and the man-made smiriti-to acknowledge the four castes as the four pillars of the social edifice, to think of Brahman in its two forms, to worship gods and goddesses as symbols of Brahman or on their own merits and so forth. I ask progressive India in all sincerity if this hackneyed programme of "religious education" has not been worn threadbare by this time. We want future builders of India to study the modern master-minds of the world, to follow the march of the modern spirit towards rationalism and individualism in religion, and thus to develop sound and original views for themselves. What is the use of stuffing their minds with the tall speculations of our unscientific and imaginative generation ? Above all, what is the good of giving them a hotch-potch of crude and chaotic theology for gospel truth, according to which they are to direct the destiny of their people ? Such pilots would certainly never bring the vessel to port.

Again, what about the sociological side of religion ? Are these youths to accept Manu's ordinances as the *ne plus ultra* of wisdom, and thus rescue Hinduism in this irreverent age ? How sad it is that while the world is enjoying the dainty dishes of fresh intellectual nutriment offered by the modern master-minds of the world, our poor misguided Hindu young men should be sorrowfully looking for something good and nutritious in the menu presented to them by their leaders, on which figure such indisputably modern things as the Brahmanas,

Grihyasutra and Smiritis of Manu and Yajnavalkya ! These men wish to live in the twentieth century A.D. on the remnants of 20th century B.C. No. sanskrit book can tell our young men how society should be organised and regulated is this age. If right social principles could be learned from these ancient documents our priests of Benares would be the wisest of sages, fit to be the leaders of new India. Yet who would put the future of India in the hands of the pundits of Benares and Nuddea ? Let us look forward instead of always looking backward.

"New occasions teach new duties ;
Time makes ancient good uncouth ;
They must upward still and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth."

Further, religion is not the whole of education. What about social ideals ? A man may believe in Brahman and Re-incarnation, but we now wish to know what he thinks on problems of government, economics, marriage, the position of woman, nationalism, the right of the individual against society, etc., etc.

It is not sufficient in these days for a man to be a theist or a pantheist, a vedantin or a sankhya ; he must also declare whether he is for limited monarchy, or absolute monarchy, republicanism, plutocracy, theocracy, representative or direct democracy, or any other conceivable form of the government or misgovernment. Further, he must clear his position on the question of woman and her social, economic, political and conjugal rights and duties. Then he must give us his economic creed, and tell us whether he upholds private property, communism, state socialism, or a mixture of all, or some new form of economic organisation. Modern civilisation has become very complex : many of these problems were not even dreamed of by the Hindu law-givers and religious founders of the past. Society is now pressing forward to a very distant goal which was beyond the ken of the wisest of the Greeks and the Hindus. "We are the ancients." Now what is the University to teach on these questions ? What does the great Hindu religion

say on these points ? Is Manu's council of eight ministers eternal and political institution ? Are our youths to learn that, "A woman is never to enjoy independence ?" (Na bhajed stri swatantratam Manu). Are they just to shut their eyes to the modern contrivances of the ballot-box and representative government, because these things did not exist when the Hindu religion was elaborated ? The aim of education is to fit a man for the discharge of his duties in life. A young man who has no views on religion and politics is worthless. Education should help him to form sound views on great problems. Is Mr. Malaviya's programme calculated to promote this object ?

Coming nearer home, ! may I ask what politics the students are to learn at this University. The burning question of the day in India is political party strife. There are many political parties in India. Now a young man must belong to one of these political parties. What political teaching is to be imparted by this University ? If it is to remain neutral, it is not worth the paper on which its prospectus is printed. We want real men in these days not mere dummies stuffed with learning. A university must place some ideal before its alumni. Let Mr. Malaviya tell us which party this university is to represent. *There can be no national Hindu University at present,* for the vital question of politics divides father from son and brother from brother. It is idle to pretend that an institution represents all Hindus. It can represent only a section of the nation, as the nation is not united on political or religious question. Is it hypocrisy, reaction, orthodoxy and the political conservatism of the "Times" of London that this university stands for ? Or is it progress and enlightenment that it seeks to further ? Unity is often simply a will-o' the wisp. Truth is the steady beacon-light. Let us first see which side the university is to espouse with regard to truth and then we can declare our attitude towards it. We want first truth and then unity. There can be unity in falsehood, stagnation and death ; such unity is not desirable Truth may bring strife and discord at first, but true unity can be based only on the foundation of truth. The essential thing to seek is truth in religion and sociology and unity will take care of itself. All those who love truth are with us: all those

who hate it are against us, even though they be our parents and kinsmen. The world is not divided into Hindus and Musalmans, or Indians and Englishmen,—or orientals and occidentals—but into only two rival groups—the champions of truth and her enemies India too must be rent asunder by this all-cleaving wedge of truth before she can prosper. The party cries "Hindus", "Musalman", "Whites", "Eurasians" are meaningless. "Hindu" university conveys no idea at all until we know what kind of an institution it will be. In religion and sociology, it must clearly define its creed, so that we may learn what type of men will be formed there.

I only put forward these questions and considerations for the guidance of our young men and women. On the present occasion I do not wish to express any views on religion and sociology. The object of this article is not the promulgation of my ideas, but the presentation of an important question before the rising generation in India. We must not be led away by catchwords like "Hindu" or "Nationality" or "Unity" or "progress " We must search for the truth like hidden treasure and test all institutions by its standard. We must not waste our energy on any scheme started by someone in the name of "Hinduism" or "progress" unless we feel sure that it is what the country needs before every thing else. As the watchman cries in the Indian village at night, I wish to say to all young men : "keep awake ! Jagte Rahna." The night is dark : the way is long and slippery : weird phantoms and apparitions flit across our path : clouds of distrust, error and pessimism hide the light of truth from our tearful eyes Young men and women of India, there is a great danger of your being misled in this dense gloom that surrounds you. Let truth alone be your guide in the dark night through which you are passing. Truth can not lead us astray.

(The wise man is awake when others sleep.)

PRIVATE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC LIFE

Public life is one of the most sacred possessions of a healthy nation. And we should guard it jealously against all baneful influences. There is a school of politicians who dissociate politics from private character.

They divide a man's life into two artificial divisions, and distinguish between his private and his public life. They seem to think that a man can exhibit mutually antagonistic types of character in these separate spheres of activity. They would ignore all actions which are described as personal or private, and would ask us to look only at the public conduct of politicians. They also introduce an ethical distinction of the greatest importance. They divide virtues also into public and private. This tone of thought prevails among certain circles in Europe, and many of our men are influenced by the example of European countries in deducing erroneous rules for the guidance of political activities. They are misled by superficial analogies and do not possess adequate insight into the needs of the Indian people.

It should be clearly recognised that *no man who is below the average in his private morals can ever take a wholesome part in political life.* He should never be allowed to pose as a leader or guide of youth. He would really be a "corrupter of the youth" of India in the literal sense of the word. The holy movement of Nationalism cannot be directed and interpreted by liars or hypocrites, rakes or swindlers. Mere profession of advanced political opinions does not count. We want men, and not merely creeds and shibboleths. No person who is immoral or false or dishonest should be accorded a place of honour in our Sabha. He may be a most radical politician ; he may deliver the most violent speeches ; he may advocate the boldest policy that we can imagine. But all that avails nothing if his character is stained with *vice*. No name which calls up an image of moral degradation can be associated with our spiritual movement.

This fundamental principle must never be lost sight of. Short-sighted and half-hearted men, who believe in words more than in deeds, may speak of our creed as Puritanical Nationalism.

But that would really be a compliment to us. For rakes and liars never raised a fallen nation to greatness. *Dharma* alone protects the weak and gives them strength. Forsake

Dharma and not all the platitudes of European politics will save you in the moment of danger. The Hindu mind will never accept an *undharmic* movement. But some of us may come so terribly denationalised by the unnatural educational system of the present day as to believe that a nation can prosper and flourish without *Dharma*. Let us beware how we trifle with basic principles of sound national life.

For it must be borne in mind that it is not mere Moderatism or Extremism that saves a nation. These lebels and agitations and party intrigues are mere froth and foam on the surface of the vast and deep national life of India which continues its course in confirmity with *Dharma*, the complete and comprehensive *Dharma* of the Shastaras. Character is above opinion; nay, opinion is valueless without character. India is fallen, not because we cannot propound (advanced) theories of private and political conduct but because our conscience is seared, and our heart clings to think of this world even when duty bids us leave them. The Hindu mind can frame a logical scheme of the most beautiful "Extremism" or "Moderatism" but the Hindu heart is cold and Hindu conscience inert. That is the real disease. The intellect is not wanting. It is character that we lack. Hence *serious defect of character cannot be made up for by sound political views*. An ounce of virtue is worth ton of correct political philosophy. Purity, truthfulness and generosity are qualities which raise a nation to greatness, and the man who possesses them is benefactor of his nation, even though he may never enter the political arena, or participate in petty squabbles between equally immoral men who say that they hold different political views.

Again, private character is the test of a man's sincerity. No man who habitually tells lies in his private dealings with others can speak the truth in public life. He connot become a new man when he mounts the platform or writes to the press. He cannot change a new moral dress-suit thrice a day. The man is one piece of moral and intellectual force : his nature is not a mechanical mixture of contradictory qualities, but a chemical combination of various forces and influences, sentiments and passions, habits and actions. It is absurd to

imagine that a man who is dishonourable in private life can be honourable in public life. Nature cannot tolerate such anomalies. We cannot despise and revere a man at the same time. We cannot advise our children to salute him and sit at his feet as he is a "leader," but to shun him as he is also a rake or a swindler or a foul-mouthed cynic. Public life is only a manifestation of a man's feelings and ideas in a certain sphere of activity. Those feelings and ideas form part of his mental and moral outfit as a member of society. It is impossible for a man to possess entirely different sets of ideas and feelings for different occasions. Such a man can be an actor or a mimic, he cannot be a teacher of young men or the apostle of a creed.

Serious defects in private character indicate want of self-control and of a proper sense of social responsibility. For all "private" faults are sins against society. They constitute violations of the Social Law. *All vice ultimately resolves itself into injustice to our neighbours.* And how can a person, who does not possess a keen sense of social responsibility, undertake to train young men for political life, which, above all things, requires a very high standard of social duty ? A politician deals with matters which affect the well-being of millions : he has to consider the welfare of generations yet unborn. How can we leave the guidance of the national movement in the hands of men who do not evince even the ordinary feeling of social responsibility without which society would be dissolved and the nation would cease to be ?

When a nation, which has passed through dark days of degeneracy and decrepitude, is restored to normal health and strength, a complete revival of its moral and intellectual energies takes place. The men are changed ; they understand new truths, they cherish noble aims and ideals. The heart of the nation responds to the stimulus of a purer and grander Life. The Whole Man is raised to a higher level of activity. It can never be believed that only one compartment of his life, which is labelled "political," is renewed and furnished up : such a process would be unnatural. When we say that a nation is

fallen, we mean that the individuals of which it is composed are selfish, cowardly, indolent or ignorant. And regeneration begins with the Re-modelling, Re-making and Re-moulding of the Individual Man and Woman—the Re-inspiring of the dead heart, the Re-quickening of the palsied Conscience, the Revivifying of the hand that has forgotten to uplift the fallen and the weak, the Restoration of that lost power of social action which makes nations great. How can a nation be corrupt in its domestic life and great in its trade or politics? How can people swindle one another in business and yet transact public business honestly and fearlessly? A conquered nation almost invariably loses in the qualities of truthfulness, social sympathy and self-denial for great ideas. The restoration of these qualities is the only remedy for the evils from which it suffers.

Mere political agitation or the profession of political formulae can never make a nation great, for politics are only one part of a nation's life. Political activity as such cannot make men pure or righteous or generous. It is only the expression of the National Will, but that will is moulded and formed by other forces like tradition, religion, physical environment, etc. Political action is the fruit : morality is the root. Political work enables us to utilise the moral strength of a nation for great ends : but that moral strength is the product of various other forces. Political efficiency is the sign and symbol of the health and strength of the social organism ; but the effect is not always the same thing as the cause. The fountain of national life is fed by hidden streams of religion and tradition, and political greatness is only the beautiful sheet of water that plays on the surface and indicates the capacity of the fountain. Politics as such are not a great constructive force : politics is dependent on ethics, and ethical efficiency extends to other branches of national life as well. Domestic happiness is one of the great requisites of political power. A nation which has lost the virtues of its home-life cannot maintain its high position in the world. A nation of liars or backbiters or swindlers can never attain to a prominent position among the nations of the world. Morality, then, is the soul of the nations, and trade, politics, literature and domestic life are its body.

Morality gives unity and consistency to the various manifestations of the corporate will of the body politic. We shall be clutching at the shadow and throwing away the substance if we attach any importance to politics divested of morality. Politics dissociated from high ethics is mere claptrap, and politicians whose daily life is not pure and noble are but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Politics is part of a nation's work, but morality constitutes the whole of it. And who would sacrifice the whole to preserve the part ? That would be a freak of idiocy, indeed.

Every "private" weakness reveals a defect in a man's will. A rake or a liar is unable to control his evil passions. He is the slave of his lower nature. That is the case with all whose life is tainted with vice or sin. Their will is not strong enough to combat the promptings of their baser self. And how can a man who is cursed with a weak will be trusted in political affairs ? Strength of will is among the necessary qualifications of a political propagandist. Our workers should be firm as a rock in times of stress and storm. They should bend their will to their higher impulses. They should not be weak, irresolute men, swayed hither and thither by every gust of wind that blows. Stern, immovable, uncompromising, our political "leaders" should be men of great determination and insight. They should not be "*katcha* reed" that ruin those who lean on them. They may be broken, but they must never bend. Such men are required for all onerous and difficult work. And what is more onerous and difficult than political propaganda among a subject people ? It is like walking on the edge of a razor (to use a favourite Sanskrit simile) to try to impart political education to a fallen race. It follows, therefore, that a person whose private life is below the normal standard of morality, is *ipso facto* unfit for the control or guidance of great political movements. If he is a drunkard he may betray the trust reposed in him for drink ; if he is a rake he may desert his post for a woman ; if he is a liar he may tell a lie in some very important matter and thus seriously injure the movement. No confidence can be placed in him. His vulnerable point may be detected by the enemy and he may be wounded through it. Let no such man be trusted.

A man whose private life is not noble and pure can exert no influence on others. Great truths lose all their beauty when they are uttered by a characterless man, as Ganges water stinks if it flows through a drain. No man can learn a truth from one whom he despises as an inferior being or pities as a weak brother. The political teacher must stand on a higher moral plane than the men whom he teaches. The difference between the moral attitude at which the master and the pupil stand is the measure of the efficacy of the teaching. An immoral person can never command influence and respect, however eloquent or learned he may be. His ideas and theories can never appeal to the people because he does not possess the credentials of a teacher. If a man lacks the ordinary virtues which others possess, how can people believe that he is in a position to raise them to a higher moral level ? His enthusiasm is regarded as something unreal and artificial, as the whole of his character does not fit in with his political activity. Men look upon him with suspicion. They fail to understand him. They are puzzled and perplexed, and end by concluding that he cannot be much of a teacher, since he cannot practise self-control in essential matters. Thus one "private" weakness mars a man's work as a political propagandist. He may be enthusiastic for the cause, but his zeal goes for nothing. Character must be a homogeneous whole, if it is to be of any value as a means of raising others. A broken diamond fetches no price, and character is a pearl of great price.

Men may call us "puritanical", they may laugh at our moral earnestness. But we should always remember that all the great achievements of history have been due to sober, God-fearing men. Cromwell turned out of his army all men who were given to swearing or drinking. The Sikhs were a pious and abstemious people in the days of their glory. Puritanism is the ornament of Nationalism. A high and loveable character is the first offering demanded of its votaries by Nationalism. Not that we should set up a sort of inquisition, or that we should become gloomy misanthropes or cynical stoics. But what all Nationalists should try to cultivate is an earnest spirit which shows itself not merely in political work but in actions. A good Nationalist must never be a bad father, or a false friend,

or a dishonest trader. Nationalism is disgraced if it is combined with bad morals.

Political work requires devotion and sadness of spirit. Suffering is the badge of the tribe of true reformers. Indeed, we should add one more deity to our Pantheon—the Goddess of Sorrow.

Oh Sorrow, wilt thou be with me,
No casual mistress but a wife,

My bosom friend and of life,
As I suppose it now must be ?

And who can worship in the Temple of Sorrow but those who regard life as a sacred trust and try to live as good a life all round as circumstances will permit. Let Nationalists be known as men of noble character, austere, truthful, sincere and generous, and we shall conquer the hearts of our people in no time even without any political discussions.

7

BHAGAT SINGH

[Indian freedom movement is not merely a record of fight against the British rule by constitutional means, it also covers much what the revolutionary leaders did by following the path of extremism and violence for which they proudly paid with their life and so their names deserve to be written in letters of gold. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, founded in 1925 with Sirdar Bhagat Singh (1907-1931) as its Secretary, was a body of the revolutionaries of the Punjab It changed its name to become Hindustan Republican Association and then to Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. It shows that the aim of these revolutionary leaders was not merely to achieve freedom for the country but also to give a leftist turn to the movement. Bhagat Singh, who had read Lenin's biography, was much influenced by the ideology of socialism. So he said in the Delhi Court: "The labour is the real sustainer of society. The sovereignty of the people is the ultimate destiny of the workers. For these ideals and for this faith we shall welcome any suffering to which we may be condemned". The light of patriotism was burning in the hearts of these young leaders, So they killed J P. Saunders, the Superintendent of Police, Lahore, on 17 December, 1928 with a view to avenge the death of Lala Lajpat Rai who had become a martyr on account of the blows of lathi-charge on the peaceful processionists protesting against the Simon Commission. Bhagat Singh, with his friend (B.K Dutt), threw a leaflet in the Central Legislative Assembly on 8 April, 1929 after raising the slogans of 'Inquilab Zindabad' (Long Live Revolution) and 'Down with British Imperialism' and then they were arrested. In the Lahore Conspiracy case Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were awarded the sentence of death. On 23 March, 1931 they were executed and it immortalised the name of these great martyrs.]

THE HINDUSTAN REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION

Rules and Regulations

Name

The name of the Association shall be the Hindustan Republican Association.

Object

The object of the Association shall be to establish a Federated Republic of the United States of India by an organized and armed revolution.

The final form of the constitution of the public shall be framed and declared by the representatives of the people at the time when they shall be in a position to enforce their decisions.

The basic principle of the Republic shall be universal suffrage and the abolition of all systems which make any kind of exploitation of man by man possible.

The Constitution

The Governing Body. The Governing Body of the Association shall be a Central Council composed of the representatives of every province of India.

All decisions of the Central Council shall be arrived at by unanimous consent.

The Central Council shall be vested with absolute powers.

The principal functions of the Central Council shall be to supervise, adjust and co-ordinate the activities in the different provinces, of which it shall have full knowledge.

The Central Council shall be in direct charge of the work to be carried on the countries outside India.

The Provincial Organization. There shall be a committee ordinarily of five men representing the five (5) different departments of the Association in every province which shall regulate all the activities of the Association in the provinces.

All decisions of the Committee shall be arrived at by unanimous consent.

Departments :

Every provincial organization shall have the following departments :

1. Propaganda
2. Collection of men
3. Collection of funds
4. Collection and storage of arms and ammunition
5. Foreign connections.

1. The Propaganda shall be carried out :

(*a*) by an open and a secret press
(*b*) through private conversations
(*c*) through public platforms
(*d*) through a system of organized *Kathas*
(*e*) through magic-lantern slides.

2. Collections of men shall be done by organizers in charge of different districts.

3. Funds shall be collected generally by means of voluntary subscriptions and occasionally contributions shall be exacted by force. In extreme cases of repressions by agent or agents of a foreign Government, it shall be the duty of the Association to retaliate in whatever form it shall consider suitable.

4. Every effort shall be made to arm every member of the Association, but all such arms shall be stored at different centres and be used according to the directions of the Provincial Committee only. No arms shall be removed from any place in the district or shall be used without the knowledge and the permission of the district organizer or the officer-in-charge of this department.

Foreign Connections. This department shall carry on its work under the direct orders from the Central Council.

The District Organizer—His Duties. The District Organizer shall be in sole charge of the members of his district. He shall try to start branches of this Association in every part of his district. In order to have efficient recruitment he should keep in touch with the different public bodies, and institutions in his district. The district organizers shall be subordinate in

every way to the Provincial Committee which shall supervise and direct all activities.

The district organizers must see that the members are divided into separate groups and the different groups do not know each other.

As far as possible, the district organizers of any province must not know the activities of each other and, if possible, they must also not know each other in person or by name. No district organizer shall leave his station without previously informing his superior.

Qualifications of a District Organizer

1. He must have the tact and the ability to guide and handle men of different temperament.

2. He must have the capacity to grasp the political, social and economic problems of the present day with special reference to his motherland.

3. He must be able to grasp the spirit of the history of India, with special reference to the particular civilization which India has evolved.

4. He must have faith in the mission and the destiny of a free India, which is to bring harmony in the different spheres of human activities, both spiritual and material.

5. He must be courageous and self-sacrificing without which all his brilliant qualities will have had no real value.

The Provincial Council and the Central Council

The Provincial Council and the Central Council members must see that every member of this Association gets full scope and ample opportunity to develop and use his individual abilities, without which the Association will tend to disintegrate.

Programme

All the activities of the Association shall be divided into two parts : Public and Private.

Public

1. To start associations in the forms of clubs, libraries, sewasamities and the like.

2. To start labour and peasant organization : suitable men to be engaged on behalf of the association to organise and control the labourers in the different factories, the railways and in the coal-fields, and instil into their minds that they are not for the revolution but that the revolution is for them. Similarly, the *Kisans* must also be organized.

3. To start a weekly paper in every province to propagate the idea of an independent Indian Republic.

4. To publish booklets and pamphlets with a view to enlightening the public regarding the course of events and the current of thought, as prevalent in the countries outside India.

5. To utilize and influence the Congress and other public activities, as far as possible.

Private

(*a*) To establish a secret press and through it to publish such literature as cannot easily be published openly.

(*b*) To circulate such literature.

(*c*) To establish branches of this Association in every part of the country, district by district.

(*d*) To collect funds in as many ways as possible.

(*e*) To send suitable men to foreign countries where they may get military or scientific training, so that they may become military or scientific experts to take charge of armies and ammunition factories at the time of open rebellion.

(*f*) To import arms and ammunition and also to manufacture them, as far as possible, in the country.

(*g*) To remain in close touch and to co-operate with the Indian revolutionaries outside India.

(*h*) To get the members of this Association enlisted into the present army.

(*i*) To enlist the sympathy of the public to our cause by occasional retaliatory measures, and propaganda and thus create a band of sympathizers.

Membership

All members shall be recruited by the organizers in charge of different districts in every province.

Every member must be ready to devote his whole time for the Association and to risk his life, if necessary. He must obey the commands of his district organizer implicitly. He should develop his own initiative and remember that the success of the Association depends much on the resourcefulness, the initiative and the sense of duty of its individual members.

He must behave in a manner that may not prejudice the cause for which this Association stands, or may not do any harm directly or indirectly to this organization.

No member of this Association shall belong to any other organization without the consent of the district organizer. No member shall leave his station without informing the district organizer about it.

Every member must try to avoid being suspected of revolutionary connections by the police or public.

Every member must remember that his individual behaviour and mistakes might lead to the ruination of the whole organization.

No member shall conceal anything from the district organizer as far as his public life is concerned.

Members who will betray shall be punished either with expulsion or death.

The authority of punishment shall rest entirely with the Provincial Council.

Copy of Government Report on the Death of J.P. Saunders*

In continuation of telegram of 17th December.

At 4.20 p.m. on December 17th, Mr. Saunders left the District Police office on his motor cycle. He had reached the gate leading into the road in front of the office when he was

*Sent by the Punjab Government to the Government of India vide its letter No. 1696-II/Police, dated Lahore, 14th January, 1929.

stopped by his Reader, Head Constable Chanan Singh, who ran after him with his keys which he had left behind. Mr. Saunders took the keys and rode out of the gate on to the road. Soon after his reaching the road, shots were fired at him by two men who had been waiting there. Mr. Saunders was hit and fell with his motor cycle. Meanwhile, the assassins made off, pursued by Head Constable Chanan Singh. They turned into the gate of the D.A.-V. College which is opposite the District Police office. One man turned round there and mortally wounded Head Constable Chanan Singh.

The men concerned in the murder made good their escape through the buildings and grounds of the D.A.V College. At first, the pistol reports did not alarm those in the police office as they were taken for motor cycle backfire. when, however, the alarm was raised, a pursuit party was organized at once, but was unable to come up with the assassins.

Mr. Saunders was one of the Police Officers who helped to keep the crowd back from the barrier at the Lahore Railway Station on October 30th, when Lala Lajpat Rai was alleged to have been assaulted by the police—and the speeches made at the inflammatory meetings held in Lahore in connection with Lajpat Rai's death. These feelings were intensified on December 16th, when a meeting was organized by the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha and was attended mainly by the students. Sixteen have been arrested so far on reasonable suspicion of murder or abetting murder or criminal conspiracies. Five are members of the Lahore Students' Union—Dhanwati, Virender, Hansraj Vohra, Dharam, Yash. Eleven are members of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha, namely, Ahmed-ud-din, K.N. Saigal, M.A. Majid, Santram, Mir Mohammed Abdul, Labhuram, Santram Pondha, Amolak Ram, Hari Krishan Sethi, Keshav Bandu and Raj Kishore Singh of U.P.

LEAFLET THROWN IN THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

It takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear. With these immortal words uttered on a similar occasion by Valliant, or

*On 8 April, 1929 Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt threw this leaflet and two bombs into the Central Legislative Assembly.

French anarchist martyr, do we strongly justify this action of ours.

Without repeating the humiliating history of the past ten years of the working of the reforms (Montague-Chelmsford Reforms) and without mentioning the insults hurled at the Indian nation through this House—the so-called Indian Parliament—we want to point out that, while the people expecting some more crumbs of reforms from the Simon Commission and are ever quarrelling over the distribution of the expected bones, the Government is thrusting upon us new repressive measures like the Public Safety and the Trade Disputes Bill, while reserving the Press Sedition Bill for the next session. The indiscriminate arrests of labour leaders working in the open field clearly indicate whither the wind blows.

In these provocative circumstances, Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. in all seriousness, realizing their full responsibility, had decided and ordered its army to do this particular action, so that a stop be put to this humiliating force and to let the alien bureaucratic exploitors do what they wish, but they must be made to come before the public eye in their naked form.

Let the representatives of the people return to their constituencies and prepare the masses for the coming revolution, and let the Government know that while protesting against the Public Safety and Trade Disputes Bills and the callous murder of Lala Lajpat Rai, on behalf of the helpless Indian masses, we want to emphasise the lesson often repeated by history, that it is easy to kill individuals but you cannot kill the ideas. Great empires crumbled while the ideas survived. Bourbons and Czars fell.

We are sorry to admit that we, who attach so great a sanctity to human life, we, who dream of a glorious future when man will be enjoying perfect peace and full liberty, have been forced to shed human blood. But the sacrifice of individuals at the altar of the "Great Revolution" that will bring freedom to all, rendering the exploitation of man by man impossible, is inevitable.

Long Live the Revolution.

Full Text of Statement of S. Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt in the Assembly Bomb Case*

We stand charged with certain serious offences, and at this stage, it is but right that we must explain our conduct.

In this connection, the following questions arise.

1. Were the bombs thrown into Chamber, and, if so why ?

2, Is the charge, as framed by the Lower Court, correct or otherwise ?

To the first half of first question, our reply is in the affirmative, but since some of the so-called 'eye witnesses' have perjured themselves and since we are not denying our liability to that extent, let our statement about them be judged for what it is worth. By way of an illustration, we may point out that the evidence of Sergeant Terry regarding the seizure of the pistol from one of usis a deliberate falsehood, for neither of us had the pistol at the time we gave ourselves up. Other witnesses, too, who have deposed to having seen bombs being thrown by us have not scrupled to tell lies. This fact had its own moral for those who aim at judicial purity and fairplay.

At the same time, we acknowledge the fairness of the Public Prosecutor and the judicial attitude of the Court so far.

Viceroy's Views Endorsed

In our reply to the next half of the first question, we are constrained to go into some detail to offer a full and frank explanation of our motive and the circumstances leading up to what has now become a historic event.

When we were toid by some of the police officers who visited us in jail that Lord Irwin in his address to the joint session of the two houses described the event as an attack directed against no individual but against an institution itself, we readily recognized that the true significance of the incident had been correctly appreciated.

*It was read in the Court on 6 June, 1929 by Mr. Asaf Ali on behalf of the accused.

We are next to none in our love for humanity. Far from having any malice against any individual, we hold human life sacred beyond words

We are neither perpetrators of dastardly outrages, and, therefore, a disgrace to the country, as the pseudo-socialist Dewan Chaman Lal is reported to have described us, nor are we 'Lunatics' as *The Tribune* of Lahore and some others would have it believed.

Practical Protest

We humbly claim to be no more than serious students of the history and conditions of our country and her aspirations. We despise hypocrisy. Our practical protest was against the institution, which since its birth, has eminently helped to display not only its worthlessness but its far-reaching power for mischief. The more we have pondered, the more deeply we have been convinced that it exists only to demonstrate to world India's humiliation and helplessness, and it symbolizes the overriding domination of an irresponsible and autocratic rule. Time and again the national demand has been pressed by the people's representatives only to find the waste paper basket as its final destination.

Attack on Institution

Solemn resolutions passed by the House have been contemptuously trampled under foot on the floor of the so called Indian Parliament. Resolution regarding the repeal of the repressive and arbitrary measures have been treated with sublime contempt, and the government measures and proposals, rejected as unacceptable by the elected members of the legislatures, have been restored by a mere stroke of the pen. In short, we have utterly failed to find any justification for the existence of an institution which, despite all its pomp and splendour, organized with the hard earned money of the sweating millions of India, is only a hollow show and a mischievous make-believe. Alike, have we failed to comprehend the mentality of the public leaders who help the Government to squander public time and money on such a manifestly stage-managed exhibition of India's helpless subjection.

No Hope For Labour

We have been ruminating upon all these matters, as also upon the wholesale arrests of the leaders of the labour movement. When the introduction of the Trade Disputes Bill brought us into the Assembly to watch its progress, the course of the debate only served to confirm our conviction that the labouring millions of India had nothing to expect from an institution that stood as a menacing monument to the strangling of the exploiters and the serfdom of the helpless labourers.

Finally, the insult of what we consider, an inhuman and barbarous measure was hurled on the devoted heads of the representatives of the entire country, and the starving and struggling millions were deprived of their primary right and the sole means of improving their economic welfare. None who has felt like us for the dumb driven drudges of labourers could possibly witness this spectacle with equanimity. None whose heart bleeds for them, who have given their life-blood in silence to the building up of the economic structure could repress the cry which this ruthless blow had wrung out of our hearts.

Bomb Needed

Consequently, bearing in mind the words of the late Mr. S.R. Das, once Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which appeared in the famous letter he had addressed to his son, to the effect that the 'Bomb was necessary to awaken England from her dreams', we dropped the bomb on the floor of the Assembly Chamber to register our protest on behalf of those who had no other means left to give expression to their heart-rending agony. Our sole purpose was "to make the deaf hear" and to give the heedless a timely warning. Others have as keenly felt as we have done, and from under the seeming stillness of the sea of Indian humanity, a veritable storm is about to break out. We have only hoisted the "danger-signal" to warn those who are speeding along without heeding the grave dangers ahead. We have only marked the end of an era of Utopian non-violence, of whose futility the rising generation has been convinced beyond the shadow of doubt.

Ideal Explained

We have used the expression Utopian non-violence, in the foregoing paragraph, which requires some explanation. Force when aggressively applied is "violence" and is, therefore, morally unjustifiable, but when it is used in the furtherance of a legitimate cause, it has its moral justification. The elimination of force at all costs is Utopian, and the new movement which has arisen in the country, and of that dawn we have given a warning, is inspired by the ideals which guided Guru Gobind Singh and Shivaji, Kamal Pasha and Riza Khan, Washington and Garibaldi, Lafayette and Lenin.

As both the alien Government and the Indian Public leaders appearred to have shut their eyes to the existence of this movement, we felt it as our duty to sound a warning where it could not go unheard.

We have so far dealt with the motive behind the incident in question, and now we must define the extent of our intention.

No Personal Grudge

We bore no personal grudge or malice against anyone of those who received slight injuries or against any other person in the Assembly. On the contrary, we repeat that we hold human life sacred beyond words, and would sooner lay down our own lives in the service of humanity than injure anyone else. Unlike the mercenary soldiers of the imperialist armies who are disciplined to kill without compunction, we respect, and, in so far as it lies in our power, we attempt to save human life. And still we admit having deliberately thrown the bombs into the Assembly Chamber. Facts, however, speak for themselves and our intention would be judged from the result of the action without bringing in Utopian hypothetical circumstances and presumptions.

No Miracle

Despite the evidence of the Government Expert, the bombs that were thrown in the Assembly Chamber resulted in slight damage to an empty bench and some slight abrasions in less

than half a dozen cases. while Government scientists and experts have ascribed this result to a miracle, we see nothing but a precisely scientific process in all this incident. Firstly, the two bombs exploded in vacant spaces within the wooden barriers of the desks and benches ; secondly, even those who were within 2 feet of the explosion, for instance, Mr. P. Rau, Mr. Shanker Rao and Sir George Schuster were either not hurt or only slightly scratched. Bombs of the capacity deposed to by the Government Expert (through his estimate, being imaginary is exaggerated), loaded with an effective charge of potassium chlorate and sensitive (explosive) picrate would have smashed the barriers and laid many low within some yards of the explosion.

Again, had they been loaded with some other high explosive, with a charge of destructive pellets or darts, they would have sufficed to wipe out a majority of the Members of the Legislative Assembly. Still again we could have flung them into the official box which was occupied by some notable persons. And finally we could have ambushed Sir John Simon whose luckless Commission was loathed by all responsible people and who was sitting in the President's gallery at the time. All these things, however, were beyond our intention and bombs did so more than they were designed to do, and the miracle consisted in no more than the deliberate aim which landed them in safe places.

We then deliberately offered ourselves to bear the penalty for that we had done and to let the imperialist exploiters know that by rushing individuals, they cannot kill ideas. By crushing two insignificant units, a nation cannot be crushed. We wanted to emphasize the historical lesson that *lettres de cachets* and Bastilles could not crush the revolutionary movement in France. Gallows and the Siberian mines could not extinguish the Russian Revolution. Bloody Sunday, and Black and Tans failed to strangle the movement of Irish freedom.

Can ordinances and Safety Bills snuff out the flames of freedom in India ? Conspiracy cases, trumped up or discovered and the incarcertion of all young men who cherish the vision of a great ideal, cannot check the march of revolution. But a

timely warning, if not uuheeded, can help to prevent loss of life and general sufferings.

We took it upon ourselves to provide this warning and our duty is done.

(Bhagat Singh was asked in the lower court what he meant by word "Revolution". In answer to that question, he said) "Revolution" does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife, nor is there any place in it for individual vendentta. It is not the cult of the bomb and the pistol. By "Revolution" we meant that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice, must change. Producers or labourers in spite of being the most necessary element of society, are robbed by their exploiters of the fruits of their labour and deprived of their elementary rights. The peasant who grows corn for all, starves with his family, the weaver who supplies the world market with textile fabrics, has not enough to cover his own and his children's bodies, masons, smiths and carpenters who raise magnificent places, live like pariahs in the slums. The capitalists and exploiters, the parasites of society, squander millions on their whims. These terrible inequalities and forced disparity of chances are bound to lead to chaos. This state of affairs cannot last long, and it is obvious, that the present order of society in merry-making is on the brink of a volcano.

The whole edifice of this civilization, if not saved in time, shall crumble. A radical change, therefore, is necessary and it is the duty of those who realize it to reorganize society on the socialistic basis Unless this thing is done and the exploitation of man by man and of nations by nations is brought to an end, sufferings and earnage with which humanity is threatened today cannot be prevented. All talk of ending war and ushering in an era of universal peace is undisguised hypocrisy.

By "Revolution", we mean the ultimate establishment of an order of society which may not be threatened by such breakdown, and in which the sovereignty of the proletariat should be recognized and in world federation should redeem

humanity from the bondage or capitalism and misery of imperial wars.

This is our ideal, and with this ideology as our inspiration, we have given a fair and loud enough warning

If, however, it goes unheeded and the present system of Government continues to be an impediment in the way of the natural forces that are swelling up, a grim struggle will ensure involving the overthrow of all obstacles, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat to pave the way for the consummation of the ideal of revolution. Revolution is an inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is an imperishable birth right of all. Labour is the real sustainer of society. The sovereignty of the people is the ultimate destiny of the workers.

For these ideals, and for this faith, we shall welcome any suffering to which we may be condemned. At the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as an incense, for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause. We are content we await the advent of Revolution "Long Live Revolution."

COPY OF THE PETITION OF KISHAN SINGH

(Crown Versus Bhagat Singh and other Accused)

Petition of Sardar Kishan Singh, father of Bhagat Singh, accused :

In this case, the accused persons wanted to produce defence evidence after the perusal of the prosecution evidence. They wanted time to find out the material from the prosecution evidence because they could not produce the defence evidence without fully knowing what they had to meet. The time asked for was about a week, but the Hon'ble Members of the Tribunal, for the reasons best known to them, refused to allow the time. I, therefore, beg to submit the following points for the consideration of the Hon'ble Judges :

1. No reliance should be placed on the evidence of the alleged eye-witnesses, for when Bhagat Singh was brought from Delhi to Lahore during the course of the investigation of

this murder case Mr. Saunders, he was not taken to the Central Jail or the Borstal Institution where the prosecution witnesses could have no opportunity to see him before the formal identification parade held by the Magistrate at the Lahore Cantonment police station. The distance between the Lahore Cantonment Police Station and the Central Jail is only 2 miles. Bhagat Singh could very easily have been brought to the Central Jail, and the identification parade could have been held there. At the Cantonment Police Station, the witnesses were procured by the investigating staff, and the Magistrate, who had to hold the identification parade was also sent by the investigating staff. There could be no other object of the police to go out of the way, and to arrange the identification parade at the Cantonment Police Station than to give an opportunity to the witnesses to see Bhagat Singh before the farce of an identification parade. I at once made an application to the District Magistrate, Lahore, that the identification parade was of no value and referred 21 P.W.R. 19, 1917 (Cr. Ruling) in that application drawing the attention of the learned District Magistrate to this abnormal conduct of the investigating officer. It has been clearly laid down by the Punjab High Court that the evidence of identification is considerably decreased, if the witnesses get an opportunity to see the accused person before holding the identification parade. That application of mine was published in the local newspapers *Milap* and very probably in *The Tribune*. No weight, therefore, should be attached to the evidence of those witnesses, who identified Bhagat Singh at the identification parade You, yourselves, are great Judges and presumably read the newspapers. Photos of Bhagat Singh were published in almost all the newspapers of India after the 'Assembly Bomb Case', and the witnesses should be presumed to have seen these photographs of Bhagat Singh before the present identification parade took place.

2. There is no manner of doubt that Mr. Fearne, European gentleman and Traffic Inspector of Police, who had plenty of opportunity to see the real criminals, could not identify the culprits. This man being a Traffic Inspector had developed his sense of identifying the natives by virtue of his profession and calling in life. He could not pick out Bhagat Singh, but it

is curious that Ganda Singh, Head Constable, and a Naib Court Police Constable and other witnesses, who were accidently present on the spot, could spot Bhagat Singh. It means that accused was shown to those witnesses before the identification parade.

3. No reliance be placed on the evidence of the approvers in this case, because the provisions of Sec. 167, Clause (*iii*) of the Cr.P. Code have been abused by the Magistrate in remanding the accused persons to police custody. Bhagat Singh and other persons, who have been admitted or likely to be admitted as approvers were kept in the police custody in the Lahore Fort and other different police lock-ups for about 3 months continuously. They were not shown the air of the world. Magistrates extraordinarily went over to the lock-ups and remanded the accused persons for fortnights. Instead of being the governors of the police, they were at the beck and call of the police. The object of taking remands in this extraordinary way was that the public might not come to know what grievances the accused persons, who were confined in the strange lock-ups, made before the Magistrate at the time of the remands. Presumably, the police did not want any legal practitioner to contend before the Magistrate at the time of the remands that there are no sufficient reasons for further remanding the accused persons to police custody. The accused persons had no opportunity to know the reasons for which the British subjects were being detained by the police. In 90 days, any amount of evidence can be prepared, the accused persons confined can be made to talk by the notorious methods of the police well known to courts. In Z.C.W.N page 457, the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta High Court have held that the evidence of the accused person, who has confessed and has been admitted or is likely to be admitted as approver, and who has been detained in the police custody up to the time of the trial, is open to the greatest suspicion that the police have arranged his statements so as to fit in with any evidence that they may have obtained elsewhere.

About 100 persons, including the Superintendent Police, Deputy Superintendent, Inspectors, were on the investigatin

staff in this case. They were the officers of the C.I.D. and the local Police Board vying with one another to contribute some material evidence in this case. It is for the protection of the accused persons and to prevent the fabrication of false evidence in this case that Sec. 167 Cr. P.C. and other similar sections were enacted. In 90 days, even stones can be pulverized into smooth powder. In this case, the accused persons were boys of easy living habits and delicate nature. They could be very easily rehearsed and drilled for a theatrical representation. The C.I.D. keeps record of suspicious persons and their activities they are in possession of the seditious literature, and have got inter-provincial communications in the country. They could very easily get the seditious literature and the prescriptions (formulae) for bomb-making and fit them in the statements of the approvers purchasing their immunity at the sacrifice of the lives of others. And the fiction appears to be more real than the truth The officers investigating the case, like the experienced craftsmen and engineers, have built up a structure by violations of the remand law. I, therefore, pray that the orders of the remands may kindly be perused at the time of weighing the evidence of the approvers. These persons were certainly kept and detained by the police without any sufficient reasons against the Punjab Chief Court Ruling No. 24 of 1902 Cr. No person can be detained in police custody without the commencement of the trial for more than 15 days. The law protects the accused persons.

4. The witnesses for the prosectuion appeared at a very late stage of the investigation and in this country witnesses can be procured and they come forward to give evidence in order to achieve their own private-ends, and the police officer investigating big cases did get witnesses from their friends and hangers-on to corroborate the approvers. Sec. 179 Cr. P. Code has been made to take the assistance of the Police diaries to find out the dates on which their statements were recorded by the police. It is also essential for the prosecution to reveal before the Tribunal, how all the witnesses were traced out. I, therefore, pray to the court to see whether it had been done or not.

It is, therefore, in this case that the accused persons have not cross examined the prosecution witnesses, but the Bench is composed of judges of experience They themselves should apply the tests for testing the veracity of the witnesses. Bhagat Singh was in Calcutta on the day of the occurrence and he actually wrote and despatched a letter to one, Ram Lal, Manager of the *Khaddar Bhandar*, Pari Mahal, Lahore, which was duly received by him There are respectable gentlemen to swear that Bhagat Singh was in Calcutta on the day of the occurrence. I can produce them if I am given an opportunity, according to justice, or they may be called as court witnesses in the interest of justice, equity and good conscience. The question in this case is of life and death. The right of defence is to be jealously preserved for the accused. If an opportunity of defence would have been given. I would have exposed, according to the Evidence Act Sec 155, who the witnesses for the prosecution are, and what is their position in life, and what are their objects in giving the evidence. when and how they were made witnesses. I still humbly pray that Bhagat Singh may be given an opportunity to produce his defence.

Kishan Singh,
Father of Bhagat Singh, Accused
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore

Dated :
20th September, 1930

Sukhdev's Letter to his Brother From the Prison
(Intercepted by the Police)

Dear Brother,

Since long certain feelings were arising in my mind, which I, owing, to some reasons, suppressed up to now ..You may act upon them, if you like.

Since the time we have been jailed, the atmosphere outside is becoming heated. So far as actions (revolutionary acts) are concerned, it is gleamed through papers that in almost every province, especially in the Punjab and Bengal, the things are going to extremes. There, the bomb has become a simple affair. So many outrages were hardly committed in the past. It is about these actions that I wish to tell you something and what our policy was in regard to them. I shall place before you.

After that I shall express my own views regarding the 'actions'.

We people did only two actions (perpetrated two outrages). one Saunders' murder and the other the throwing of bombs in the Assembly. Before that, we made two or three attempts but did not succeed. In this connection, I can say this much that our actions were of three kinds.

(1) Propaganda ;

(2) Money ;

(3) Special.

Of these three, our attention was centred on actions for propaganda The other two were regarded.. By this I don't mean to detract from their importance, but, at any rate, our actions to promote propaganda were the real proofs of our existence (sic) To clear all these three points I place before you :

(1) The Assembly action,

(2) Punjab National Bank Dacoity, and

(3) Attempt to release Jogesh Chatterjee

Leaving aside the latter two kinds of actions, I wish to discuss here the propaganda aspect. The word propaganda perhaps does not properly signify these actions. In fact, these actions used to be in accordance with the wishes of the people. For instance, take the case of Saunders' murder, after Lala Ji received *lathi* blows. We saw that there was great unrest in the country. By this, the Government added fuel to the fire. The people became very annoyed. This was a very good opportunity for us to attract public attention towards the revolutionaries. First of all, we thought that one man should be sent with a pistol and after killing Scott, should there and then give himself up. Then in the statement, he should give out that revenge for the national insult could be taken in that way. It was, however, thought better to send three men, as manpower was believed to be deficient. In this, too, the object of making good our escape was not predominating. It was not even so much as wished for. Our idea was that after the murder, if the police followed us we should face them. He

who survived and was arrested should make his statement. With this in view we ran away and got over the roof of the D.A.V. College hostel. At the time of action it was so arranged that Bhagat Singh who could recognise Scott, was to fire the first shot, Raj Guru was to stand at a little distance and protect Bhagat Singh, and if anyone attacked Bhagat Singh, then Raj Guru was to face the opponent. After this, both Bhagat Singh and Raj Guru were to run away and since in the act of running away, they could not turn back to shoot those who chased them, Panditjee (Chandrasekhar Azad) was made to stand behind them for their protection. At the same time, we were determined to pay more attention to kill him rather than to save our lives. We did not like that the persons we aimed at should die in the hospital. For this reason, even after Raj Guru had fired a shot, Bhagat Singh did not cease firing till he was satisfied that he (Saunders) was dead.

To run away after the murder was not our plot. We wished to enlighten the public that it was a political murder and that its perpetrators were revolutionaries and not the associates of Malangi. We therefore, affixed posters (and) sent some for publication. Alas ! neither our leaders nor the press rendered any assistance at that stage and in order to deceive the government they kept the country in the dark. We desired that they should write in a round-about way that it was a political murder and was the result of the government's policy which was responsible for such action. But in spite of their knowing this fact and on our repeatedly saying so, they did not dare say so. It was a good thing that we were arrested and everything came to the notice of the people.

Dear brother, I consider arrest good luck for this reason. After clearing the nature of this action I want to dwell on the policy aspect. I want to show that our idea was that our actions should fulfil the desires of the public and should be in response to those grievances (not redresses) against the government so that they might attract public sympathy and support. With this end in view we wanted to infuse revolutionary ideas and tactics in the public and the expression of such ideas looks more glorified from the mouth of one who stands on the

gallows for that cause. Our idea was that by coming into direct conflict with the government, we would be able to frame a definite programme.

In regard to our actions to obtain money, it was not our intention to pay so much attention and spend so much energy in the commission of dacoities as the Bengalis did...After Saunders' murder, we had not to think much about money. The dacoities did not yield as much money, as we used to collect quietly. Today, it is still easier to get money.

Now, I want to say something in regard to those actions which happened after we were jailed. After the attempt to bomb the viceregal special train, many bomb outrages have aken place. (I don't approve of the placing of bombs, etc. on the railway, etc).

Here I would not praise the Chittagong action....

MERCY PETITIONS

Telegram From Pandit Malaviya To The Viceroy

Allahabad, the 14th February, 1931.

"May I appeal to Your Excellency to exercise your prerogative of mercy in cases of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and ukhdev to commute sentences of death passed upon them into those of transportation for life. I do so only because I am opposed on grounds of humanity to infliction of death sentence upon a fellow man but also because the execution of these young men whose action was prompted not by any personal or selfish consideration but by a patriotic impulse, however misguided, will give a great shock to public feeling in the country. While the purpose of Law and State will be fully met by a sentence of transportation for life, such an act of mercy on Your Excellency's part will, at this juncture, produce a very beneficial effect on Indian public opinion."

Copy of one of the Public Memorials to the Viceroy

"May it please Your Excellency, we the undersigned request that the death sentences passed by the Tribunal at Lahore on Messrs Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Raj Guru be commuted on the following, among other, grounds :

(*a*) That the trial was held according to the ordinary form of law before an ordinary Court of Law.

(*b*) That the trial was conducted ex-parte in the absence of the accused by an extraordinary Court of Law.

(*c*) That the accused were not permitted to appeal to the High Court.

(*d*) That when Sardar Kishan Singh, father of S. Bhagat Singh, requested to be permitted to produce documentary and oral evidence to disprove the prosecution story regarding the murder of Mr. Saunders, the request was not granted ..".

The signatories to this memorial among others were some members of the Legislative Assembly, Municipal Commissioners and members of the local Bars also.

GANDHI'S LETTER TO VICEROY IRWIN[1]

1, Daryaganj, Delhi,
March 23, 1931

Dear Friend,

It seems cruel to inflict this letter on you, but the interest of peace demands a final appeal. Though you were frank enough to tell me that there was little hope of your commuting the sentence of death on Bhagat Singh and two others, you said you would consider my submission of Saturday. Dr. Sapru met me yesterday and said that you were troubled over the matter and taxing your brain as to the proper course to adopt. If there is any room left for reconsideration, I invite your attention to the following.

Popular opinion rightly or wrongly demands commutation. When there is no principle at stake, it is often a duty to respect it.

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1. Being Monday, a silence day. On the very day in his letter superscribed "confidential" the Viceroy wrote : "I have again thought very carefully over everything that you have said—and the last thing I should wish to do would be to make your task, especially at this juncture, more difficult. But I am afraid, for the reasons I sought to explain fully to you in conversation, I cannot see my way to feel that it would be right to take action on you request...".

In the present case the chances are that, if commutation is granted, internal peace is most likely to be promoted. In the event of execution, peace is undoubtedly in danger.

Seeing that I am able to inform you that the revolutionary party has assured me that, in the event of these lives being spared, that party will stay its hands, suspension of sentence pending cessation of revolutionary murders becomes in my opinion a peremptory duty.

Political murders have been condoned before now. It is worth while saving these lives, if thereby many other innocent lives are likely to be saved and may be even revolutionary crime almost stamped out.

Since you seem to value my influence such as it is in favour of peace, do not please unnecessarily make my position difficult as it is, almost too difficult for future work.

Execution is an irretrievable act. If you think there is the slightest chance of error of judgement, I would urge you to suspend for further review an act that is beyond recall.

If my presence is necessary, I can come. Though I may not speak, I may hear and write what I want to say.

"Charity never faileth."

Yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi.

TRIBUTES

GANDHI'S VIEWS ON EXECUTIONS

New Delhi,
March 23, 1931

Bhagat Singh and his companions have been executed and have become martyrs. Their death seems to have been a personal loss to many. I join in the tributes paid to the memory of these young men. And yet I must warm the youth of the country against following their example. We should no utilize our energy, our spirit of sacrifice, our labours and our indomitable courage in the way they have utilized theirs. This country must not be liberated through bloodshed.

About the Government I cannot help feeling that it has missed a golden opportunity to win over the rebels to its side. At least from the point of view of the settlement, it was its duty to ' ostpone indefinitely the carrying out of the death sentences. The Government has by its own act dealt a severe blow to the settlement and has shown its capacity to disregard public opinion once again and to exhibit the great brute strength it possesses.

The reliance on violence is perhaps ominous and it suggests that in spite of high-sounding and pious proclamations, it does not want to part with power. But the people's duty is clear

The Congress must not swerve from the path it has chalked out for itself. According to my view, notwithstanding the gravest provocation the Congress should endorse the settlement and test its capacity to secure the result hoped for.

We must not put ourselves in the wrong by getting angry. We must realize that commutation of the sentences was not a part of the truce. We may accuse the Government of violence, but we cannot accuse it of breach of the settlement. It is my conviction that the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased our power to win freedom and Bhagat Singh and his comrades have embraced death the refer. Let us not throw away this opportunity by doing anything in anger. It is beyond dispute that there will be a general strike and we cannot honour the deceased patriots better than by taking out absolutely peaceful and dignified processions.

GANDHI AT THE KARACHI CONGRESS

March 26, 1931

The first speech in the Congress pandal, or the inauguration address if I may so call it, was delivered by Gandhi on the 26th, when a vast audience listened to him spellbound. The canopy of heaven, under which the Congress is meeting for the first time in its history, lent not only special charm and colour to the address, but also a rare inspiration, to which the great silence around him also contributed. This it how he began :

We are accustomed to think of heaven as the Kingdom of God. We imagine that He sends us His messages and commands from above and we thus establish communion with Him. Until now we had a screen between God and us. I am thankful that the Reception Committee has rent it asunder and put us into direct communion with God. Let us not now by allowing impurities to creep in create a fresh screen and let us commence our business with this communion as our valuable asset. We have chosen for our march towards freedom the ancient path of truth and non-violence, and we must let God's covenant that those who tread on the straight and narrow path shall never come to grief inspire us with faith and hope.

By the executions the Government have given the nation grave cause for provocation. It has shocked me too inas much as my negotiations and talks had made me entertain a distant hope that Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev might be saved. I am not surprised that young men are angry with me for not having been able to save them. But I have no reason to be angrgy with them. For one thing, this is not the first occasion of its kind in my life. It is the duty of him who claims to serve humanity not to be angry with those whom he is serving. As for myself non-violence being my creed, I cannot afford to be angry with anybody. But even if it is not his creed, it is the duty of a genuine servant not to be angry with his masters. Anger ought to be taboo with him. But if he cannot help being angry, he must abdicate his function as servant of humanity. I for one do not want to do so and therefore I said they had a right to be angry, not I. But I must tell them I had been serving the peasants and workers long before the young men were born. I have lived amongst them, cast my lot with them. Ever since I took the pledge of service, I have dedicated my head to humanity. It is the easiest thing in the world to chop off my head, it does not take the slightest preparation or organization. And outside protection I have never sought. In fact it is futile to think of protecting me for I know that God Almighty is the only Protector. Having said this, let me declare that the demonstrations of the young men yesterday far from making me angry delighted me, inasmuch

as there was no discourtesy about them. They might have laid hands on me ; instead, they formed my bodyguard and escorted me to my car. I must confess that when I saw them, I felt that my experiences in South Africa, where I was mobbed and assaulted, were going to be repeated.

But there was no cause for apprehension. They young men were simply shouting, "Gandhi go back", "Down with Gandhism". They had a right to do so inasmuch as they thought that I had not done everything in my power to save Bhagat Singh, or that being a believer in ahimsa, I had simply neglected Bhagat Singh and his comrades. But they had no intention to molest me or for the matter of that anyone else. They allowed everyone to pass, and then a young men handed to me flowers made of black cloth. They might have thrown them on me and insulted me, but they had no such intention. Flowers are given me everywhere, I am usually indifferent about them, even when they are received from dear sisters and sometimes even chide them for wasting the flowers on me. But these I seized and have treasured them. I shall also tell you what I want to do with them. If the young men come and tell me that they should not have been angry and that their suspicions about me were groundless and that therefore they want the flowers returned to them, I shall gladly give them back. But if they do not do so, they will be sent to the Ashram to be preserved as heirlooms.

Those young men wanted to proclaim to the world that however great the Mahatma may be, they were sure that he was doing harm to India. I think they had a right to expose me, if they felt that I was betraying the country. I want you to understand my attitude. I cannot behave otherwise with these young men inasmuch as I want to win them over by love. Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man, believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I live in the hope that if not in this birth, in some other birth I shall be able to hug all humanity in friendly embrace.

I have dwelt at length on this little episode, in order that you may not think ill of the young men. Do not seek to protect me. The most High is always there to protect us all. You may be sure that when my time is up, no one, not even the most renowned physician in the world, can stand between Him and me.

And now a message for the young men. If you want my service, do not disown me ; come and understand everything from me. You must know that it is against my creed to punish even a murderer, a thief or a decoit. There can be therefore no excuse for suspicion that I did not want to save Bhagat Singh. But I want you also to realize Bhagat Singh's error. If I had an opporlunity of speaking to Bhagat Singh and his comrades, I should have told them that the way they pursued was wrong and futile. I declare that we cannot win swaraj for our famishing millions, for our deaf and dumb, for our lame and crippled, by the way of the sword. With the Most High as witness I want to proclaim this truth that the way of violence cannot bring swaraj, it can only lead to disaster. I with to tell these young men with all the authority with which a father can speak to his children that the way of violence can only lead to perdition. I shall explain to you why. Do you think that all the women and the children who covered themselve with glory during the last campaign would have done so if we had pursued the path of violence ? Would they have been here today ? Would our women know as the meekest on earth, would women like Gangabehn, who stood the lathi-blows until her white sari was drenched in blood, have done the unique service they did if we had violence in us ? With God's name on their lips she and her sisters hurled defiance at their oppressors, without anger in their hearts. And our children—our *vanarasena* (monkey-army). How could you have had these innocent ones, who renounced their toys, their kites and their crackers, and joined as soldiers of swaraj—how could you have enlisted them in a violent struggle ? We were able to enlist as soldiers millions of men, women and children because we were pledged to non-violence. I beseech the young men to have patient and self-control. Anger cannot take us forward. We need not consider the

Englishmen as our enemies. I have used satyagraha against them but have never thought of them as enemies. I want to convert them and the only way is the way of love. Rowdy demonstrations cannot help us. Could they call Bhagat Singh back to life ? They can only retard the advent of swaraj. I agree that the Government has given sufficient cause for provocation, but I want the impatient youth in the name of God, in the name of our dear Motherland, to throw themselves heart and soul in the non-violent struggle. I ask them to trust my unbroken experience of forty years of the practice of non-violence.

But if they will not, they might kill me but they cannot kill Gandhism. If Truth can be killed Gandhism can be killed. If non-violence can be killed Gandhism can be killed. For what is Gandhism but winning swaraj by means of truth and non-violence ? Will they refuse swaraj attained through truth and non-violence ? I ask them therefore not to mar the wonderful work done by the workers of Sind. The workers have in the course of three weeks created this Congressnagar, so that swaraj for the peasant, the labourer, the scavenger—all of whom have worked in creating this city of huts—the lame and the blind, the starving and the well-fed, the wretch and the poor, may soon be a living reality. I beseech you not to mar the beautiful work they have done.

This leads me to the events in Cawnpore which has been a scene of carnage. This is due largely to the violence we had harboured against one another. It is the handwriting on the wall. Though we have shown ourselves capable of limited non-violence, we have harboured violence in our hearts, we have been guilty of using coercion. The papers allege that Cawnpore Hindus went mad over Bhagat Singh's martyrdom and started with intimidating the Mussalmans who would not close their shops in Bhagat Singh's honour. You know the sequel. I am quite sure that if the spirit of Bhagat Singh is watching what is happening in Cawnpore today, he would feel deeply humiliated and ashamed. I saw this for I have heard him described as a man of honour. And what havoc we have done ! Women insulted ! Children done so death !

Let no Hindu comfort himself with the thought that they were Mussalman children ; let no Mussalman feel happy in the knowledge that it is Hindu children who have been killed. I do not know their religion. Let it be recognized that both Hindus and Mussalmans had lost their senses. They were all children of the soil, children of our common Motherland.

I have felt deeply ashamed of these deeds of blood, and to whoever my voice may reach I wish to declare that such things may any day psove more than I can bear. How can we, with Hindus and Mussalmans slaughtering one another, continue to assert that we have been non-violent ? How can I, a votary of truth, hug the belief that we as a nation are non-violent if the mischief spreads ? If I did so, I would be untrue to myself and to my Maker. With carnage going on about me I cannot bear to live unconcerned. Let me declare, that as soon as I feel that life is unbearable. I should hope to have the courage to fast myself to death rather than witness these blood feuds. You know by this time that I cannot bear denial of pledges solemnly and voluntarily undertaken. I would sooner be dead than see merchants and others break their pledged word, than see those calling themselves Congressmen and swearing by the creed of the Congress break it in their hearts or openly. If I can witness this contradiction with equanimity, with what face can I stand before the world and my Maker ? He will tell me I have been living a life of falsehood, a life of shame and fraud. I may not deceive myself and the world. Every moment of my existence is dedicated to the winning of swaraj by means of truth and non-violence.

I know you will say that sort of thing has been going on all these years, and I have done nothing to stop it. Penances with me are no mechanical acts. They are done in obedience to the inner voice. I am telling you what has been going on within me all these days. The crisis may never come, either because I am unnecessarily agitated, or because I have lost courage to face reality. I must be true to maker, and the moment I feel that life is insupportable for me, I hope not to be found wanting. What better reparation can I do than willing surrender of the body that has ceased to evoke response and may be a hindrance to the discovery of the true way ?

As he was about to close, the question mentioned above was asked him not by one who wanted to be cantarkerous but by one who wanted everything to be known to the public. He replied :

Well, I was not on my defence, and I did not bother you with the details of what I did to save Bhagat Singh and his comrades. I pleaded with the Viceroy as best I could. I brought all the persuasion at my command to bear on him. On the day fixed for the final interview with Bhagat Singh's relations I wrote a personal letter to the Viceroy on the morning of 23rd. I poured my whole soul into it, but to no avail. I might have done one thing more, you say. I might have made the commutation a term of the settlement. I could not be so made. And to threaten withdrawal would be a breach of faith. The Working Committee had agreed with me in not making commutation a condition precedent to truce. I could therefore only mention it apart from the settlement. I had hoped for magnanimity. My hope was not to materialize. But that can be no ground for breaking the settlement.

And it was not I alone who did what was humanly possible. The revered friend Panditji and Dr. Sapru tried their best. But why should that failure worry us ? Success is in God's hands. Our failure should spur us to greater effort. That effort lies in being true to ourselves, in Hindus and Mussalmans determining to live as brothers in heart unity, in merchants and others keeping their voluntary pledges, in workeers schewing violence in thought, word and deed. May God help us to mend our ways. May He help us to be strong enough to be true to ourselves and to him.

GANDHI'S ASSESSMENT

29 March, 1931

Brave Bhagat Singh and his two associates have been hanged. Many attempts were made to save their lives and even some hopes were entertained, but all was in vain.

Bhagat Singh did not wish to live. He refused to apologize; declined to file an appeal. If at all he would agree to live, he would do so for the sake of others; if at all he would agree to it, it would be in order that his death might not provoke anyone to indiscriminate murder. Bhagat Singh was not a devotee of non-violence, but he did not subscribe to the religion of violence; he was prepared to commit murder out of a sense of helplessness. His last letter was as follows: "I have been arrested while waging a war. For me there can be no gallows. Put me into the mouth of a cannon and blow me off." These heroes had conquered the fear of death. Let us bow to them a thousand times for their heroism.

But we should not imitate their act. I am not prepared to believe that the country has benefited by their action. I can see only the harm that has been done. We could have won swaraj long ago if that line of action had not been pursued and we could have waged a purely non-violent struggle. There may well be two opinions on this conjecture of mine. However, no one can deny the fact that if the practice of seeking justice through murders is established amongst us, we shall start murdering one another for what we believe to be justice. In a land of crores of destitutes and crippled persons, this will be a terrifying situation. These poor people are bound to become victims of our atrocities. It is desirable that everyone should consider the consequences of this. Further, we want a swaraj which is theirs and for them. By making a dharma of violence, we shall be reaping the fruit of our own actions.

Hence, though we praise the courage of these brave men, we should never countenance their activities.

By hanging these men, the Government has demonstrated its own brute nature, it has provided fresh proof of its arrogance resulting from its power by ignoring public opinion. From this hanging it may be concluded that it is not the intention of the Government to part with any real power to the people. The Government certainly had the right to hang those men. However, there are some rights which do credit to

these who possess them only if they are enjoyed in name only. If a person exercises all his rights on all occasions, in the end they are destroyed. On this occasion, the Government would have brought credit to itself if it had not exercised its rights and this would have been highly useful in maintaining peace.

However, it is obvious that the Government has not to date developed such direction. It has given a clear reason for the public to get enraged. If the latter shows anger, it will lose the game which it is about to win. Some officials may even hope that the public will give vent to its anger. Whether they do so or not, ours is a straightforward path. While negotiating the settlement, Bhagat Singh's hanging was weighing upon us. We had hoped that the Government would be cautious enough to pardon Bhagat Singh and his associates to the extent of remitting the sentence of hanging. We should not break the pledge we have taken just because our hopes have not been fulfilled, but should bear this blow which has fallen upon us and honour our pledge. By doing so under even such trying circumstances, our strength to get what we desire will increase rather than decrease, while, if we break our pledge or violate the truce, we shall suffer loss of vigour, loss of strength and it will add to our present difficulties in reaching our objective. Hence our dharma is to swallow our anger, abide by the settlement and carry out our duty.'

Subhash Chandra Bose

"Bhagat Singh is today not a person, but a symbol. He symbolizes the spirit of revolt that has taken possession of the country.. Bhagat Singh, who has set an example of character, patriotism by himself for the sake of the country's freedom, was from the Sikh community. Today, he is known to be a brave Sikh hero throughout the world. The Sikh community has to produce thousands of Bhagat Singhs for the cause of the country."

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru

"Bhagat Singh did not become popular because of his act of terrorism, but because he seemed to vindicate the honour of

Lala Lajpat Rai and through him of the nation. He became a symbol, the act was forgotten, the symbol remained, and within a few months each town and village of the Punjab and to a lesser extent the whole of northern India resounded with his name. Innumerable legends grew up about him and the popularity that the man achieved was something amazing.

"Bhagat Singh had an attractive, intellectual face, remarkably calm and peaceful. He looked and talked with great gentleness.

"The lesson which they (people) should learn from Bhagat Singh is to die in a manly and bold manner so that India might live."

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE KARACHI CONGRESS (March 30, 1931)*

"This Congress, while dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any shape or form, places on record its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of the late Bhagat Singh and his comrades Syts. Sukh Dev and Raj

*In this connection the observation of B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is worth quoting. "The Karachi Congress which should have met under the radiance of universal joy met really under the gloom cast by the news of the execution of the three youths, Baghat Singh, Rai Guru and Sukh Dev. The ghosts of these three departed young men were casting a shadow over assembly. It is no exaggeration to say that at that moment Bhagat Singh's name was widely known all over India that was as popular as Gandhi's. Gandhi, in spite of his best efforts, had not been able to get the sentences of these three youths commuted. That was not all. They who were praising Gandhi for his strenuous efforts to save their lives began to pour forth volleys of wrath over the language to be adopted in regard to the resolution to be moved for the three martyrs. It is really a point of doubt, even at this distance of time, as to which resolution was the more arresting one at Karachi that relating to Bhagat Singh or that relating to the ratification of the Gandni-Irwin Agreement. The resolution relating to Bhagat Singh was taken virtually as the first on the agenda, after the usual condolences were offered in respect of the demise of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mohammed Ali..." *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, p. 456.

Guru, and mourns with the bereaved families the loss of their lives. The Congress is of opinion that this triple execution is an act of wanton vengeance and is deliberate flouting of the unanimous demand of the Nation of commutation. This Congress is further of opinion that Government have lost the golden opportunity of promoting goodwill between the two nations, admittedly held to be essential at this juncture, and of winning over to the method of peace the party which, being driven to despair, resorts to political violence."

PART II

BRITISH COLONIAL INTERPRETATIONS AND PRONOUNCEMENTS

Colonisation is not only a manifest expedient but an imperative duty of Great Britain. God seems to hold out His finger to us over the sea. But it must be a national colonisation, such as was that of Scotch to America ; a colonisation of Hope, and not such as we have alone encouraged and effected for the last fifty years—a Colonisation of Despair.

—**S.T. Coleridge**

8

WESTERN IMPACT ON INDIAN AWAKENING*

THE NEW WINE OF THE WEST

The episodes of which I have written, looked at in retrospect, bear something of the character of lantern pictures thrown upon the screen of one's consciousness. At the moment of experiencing them they are vivid, brilliantly illumined, and sharply focussed. Later, when one is back on the broad highway of Indo-Anglia,[1] they tend to fade like the dissolving views of the lantern. But they leave behind them a subtle impress. The broad highway of Indo-Anglia, which before seemed so natural and so substantial, no longer looks quite the same. Sometimes it assumes almost the nature of a mirage obscuring the underlying landscape upon which it rests. How then did it obtain the degree of solidity which at first sight it appears to possess ? For a reply to that question it is necessary to consider the conditions which were prevalent at the time when the tide of Western civilisation first flowed in force over the shores of the Indian continent.

India was then passing through a period of exhaustion, consequent upon the disruption of the Moghul Empire. Her

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*From Earl of Ronaldshay : *The Heart of Aryavarta : A Study of the Psychology of Indian Unrest*, Chapters V, VII.

1. I use this word to denote Western-educated India. Anglo-India would, perhaps, be the more obvious term ; but this word has already been appropriated and, in accordance with instructions issued by a former Secretary of State applied to the descendants of mixed European and Indian marriages.

national vitality was at a low ebb. She was not in a fit state to meet a sudden and powerful influx of new ideas critically and with discrimination. A few strong characters stood out as exceptions, notably Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dewan Ramkamal Sen, who welcomed what they perceived to be good in the civilisation of the West for its own sake, and who doubtless believed that a synthesis of all that was best in the thought and practice of East and West was both desirable and possible. But it is significant that these men grew up before the introduction of a definite system of English education. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in A.D. 1772 and died in A.D. 1833. The Hindu College with its secular curriculum came into existence under rationalist auspices in 1817, and Lord Macaulay's famous Minute was penned in 1835. Thereafter the new wine of Western learning was poured with disastrous results into the old bottles of Hinduism ; and there is no doubt that is went to the heads of young Bengal.

By the middle of the nineteenth century a period of intellectual anarchy had set in, which swept the rising generation before it like a craft which has snapped its moorings. Westernism became the fashion of the day—and Westernism demanded of its votaries that they should cry down the civilisation of their own country. The more ardent their admiration for everything Western, the more vehement became their denunciation of everything Eastern. The ancient learning was despised ; ancient custom and tradition were thrust aside ; ancient religion was decried as an outworn superstition. The ancient foundations upon which the complex structure of Hindu society had been built up were undermined ; and the new generation of iconoclasts found little enough with which to underpin the edifice which they were so recklessly depriving of its own foundations.

A graphic description of this state of affairs has been given by a Bengali gentleman who was himself a college student at this critical period in the history of Bengal. "Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic," he declares, "held in such supreme reverence but a few years before as the only source of wisdom, were in consequence of such teachings, looked upon with

supreme contempt." They came to be regarded as "barbarous, unwholesome, unfashionable". The young men of the day sought for inspiration in "the wide unclean waters of inferior works of English fiction. For history, especially Indian history, they had an unnameable horror." And following hard upon this new spirit of contempt for their own past, came religious scepticism, which ate its way into the moral fibre of young Bengal with all the virulence of a corroding acid. "The ancient scriptures of the country, the famous records of the spiritual experiences of the great men of numerous Hindu sects, had long since been discredited. The Vedas and Upanishads were sealed books. All that we knew of the immortal Mahabharata, Ramayana, or the Bhagavad Gita, was from the execrable translations into popular Bengali, which no respectable young man was supposed to read. The whole religious literature of ancient India presented an endless void. Our young reformers studied Paine's 'Age of Reason' to get fresh ideas on the subject of religion." And the result is painted with an unsparing hand. "All faith in morality and religion every day became weaker and tended to decay. The advancing tide of a very mixed civilisation, with as much evil as good in it, the flood of fashionable carnality threatened to carry everything before it."[2]

With a certain section of the newly educated the adoption of all the less reputable habits of the youth of Europe became an obsession, and the open defiance of the traditions of Hinduism a point of honour. Babu Raj Narain Bose, a well-known Bengali gentleman of the nineteenth century, mentions in his autobiography that "it was a common belief of the alumni of the college, that the drinking of wine was one of the concomitants of civilisation", and he adds that in 1884 he himself was attacked by a dangerous illness, the seeds of which had been sown by excessive drinking. Bengali gentlemen have told me t at when they were children the young men of the day used to boast of their liking for beef and to jeer openly at

2. The Rev. P.C. Mazumdar in his introduction to the "Life and Teachings of Keshub Chandra Sen".

those who protested against this outrage upon their feelings. "Intemperate drinking and licentiousness of thought, taste and character were fearfully rampant. Infidelity, indifference to religion and point-blank atheism were unblushingly professed. Education had degenerated or never developed into anything higher than a frivolous pursuit of rhetoric and dilettantism."[3]

Such descriptions, coming as they do from the pens of men who wrote of what they themselves saw and experienced, leave little room for doubt as to the state of affairs. Young Bengal was rapidly becoming both de-nationalised and de-moralised. Still it must be borne in mind that however prominent a place young Bengal occupied in the public eye, it constituted but a minute fraction of the population It was like the foam caught by the wind on the surface of the sea. Beneath the surface still rolled the deep placid waters of Indian life And it is probable that the reaction against Westernism would have been as sudden and as violent as the original craze for it, had it not been for two things—the economic pressure which drove the middle classes to seek employment in government service, and in the professions for which a Western education had become a necessity ; and secondly, the rise of certain men of outstanding personality and character, who took up the threads where they had been dropped by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his companions—men of vision who saw the need of a rational synthesis of the best that Europe and Asia had to give and who strove consequently, to weave into the tapestry of Indian life such threads from the spindles of the West as would enrich, without bringing about a complete alteration of outline in the pattern upon the Eastern loom. Among such men stands out the commanding figure of Keshub Chandra Sen.

Born in 1838, he was educated at the Hindu College and the Metropolitan School, and at the age of twenty-one entered the Bank of Bengal as a clerk on Rs. 25 a month. He met with rapid promotion, and a successful career was undoubtedly open to him in the service of that institution if he chose to pursue it. There was every encouragement for him to do so.

3. *Ibid.*

He had before him the example of his grandfather, Ramkamal Sen, a truly remarkable man, who by sheer force of character and ability had raised himself from the humble position of an assistant type setter on Rs. 8 a month in the employment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to that of a member of the Council of the Society and of Dewan of the Bank of Bengal on a salary of Rs. 2000 a month. But worldly success possessed no attractions for Keshub Chandra Sen, and he soon gave up the post which he held, in order to devote his life to the service of his fellow-men. He was one of those men whose whole being is inspired by a missionary zeal, and in the circumstances of the times in which he lived he found unlimited scope for his activities.

During the latter part of his student days he had probed deep into the study of mental and moral philosophy, and it was scarcely to be wondered at that a man of so inquiring a turn of mind, living in such times, should have failed to find complete satisfaction in old traditions and an ancient creed. The strength of his character and the robustness of his faith were shown by his refusal to give way to the tendencies of the times, or to rest satisfied until he had discovered something to fill the void. At first he fell back, as Gautama Buddha did and as so many of his countrymen have done throughout the centuries, upon a life of asceticism and meditation. But action was the mainspring of his life, and before long he was up and doing. It is not necessary for my purpose to dwell upon the actual events of his career as an active preacher—how in 1857 he founded a religious association for the discussion of the all-absorbing questions of life; how he was thus brought into contact with Devendra Nath Tagore and led by him to join the Brahmo Samaj; how his zeal for social reform and his strong iconoclastic tendencies carried him away from the more conservative elements in the Brahmo Samaj and severed the close ties which had bound him to his patron; or how finally, after having been left in his turn by many of his own associates, he achieved the crowning event of his life by founding the Church of the New Dispensation.

All these crowded years of history are familiar to every student of the times, and I am not so much concerned to

narrate history as to record an impression. And I have referred to them here mainly because they bear striking witness to his indifference to the opinions of others, when once he was convinced that his own action was inspired by God—in other words, to the tremendous strength of his faith. He was, indeed, pre-eminently a man who lived by faith, a man whose whole life was dominated by an intuitive knowledge that he had a mission to perform, and who exercised over his fellowmen the influence which outstanding personality inspired by a steadfast singleness of purpose and a contagious enthusiasm, can always command.

He does not seem to have been a highly-finished orator, capable of delighting an audience of dilettantes with polished periods of artistic rhetoric. Yet he was undoubtedly able to sway and dominate vast assemblies by his power of speech—speech pouring forth in torrents of rugged eloquence, speech surging up spontaneously from the depths of his innermost being, speech stamping him not as an artist, but as a seer—a man inspired with a message for the world, and compelled by unseen forces to deliver it. He was not, in all probability, a man of outstanding eminence considered exclusively from the point of view of intellectuality. His intellect was not of that type which loves to build up elaborate systems of philosophy based upon pure reason. His intellectual life was passed in a warm atmosphere of emotion rather than in the chill regions of undiluted logic. He must certainly be judged to have been lacking in powers of organisation ; and there is some excuse for assuming at first sight that his actions were not infrequently dictated by caprice. Reflection upon the more marked characteristics of his temperament, however, and particularly upon the extent to which his whole life was guided by prayer and the response received by him to his prayers, suggests that what might at first be mistaken for impulse was in reality in his case inspiration.

Such a mind is always sensitive to new thought impressions, and the mind of Keshub Chandra Sen undoubtedly reacted like a delicate instrument to the invigorating streams of thought which at that time were pouring in upon India from all sides.

This sensitiveness of mind, with its consequent power of rapid assimilation, is responsible for a certain difficulty in the way of grasping the precise nature of his religious beliefs. That he was a theist is beyond question, and as I have already pointed out, he was a profound believer in the efficacy of prayer. He has himself left it on record that the first lesson of the scriptures of his life was prayer. And he prayed fervently and without ceasing. From the first he tells us he had recourse to "that supplication before God which is greater than Veda or Vedanta, Koran or Purana". But his theism was peculiarly free from dogma. There is truth, he held, in all religions. Later, under the influence, probably, of Ram Krishna Paramhamsha, whom he held in great respect, this eclecticism underwent a further development. From the position that there is truth in all religions, he advanced to the position that all religions are true.

Further indication of his sensitiveness to new ideas is provided by the zeal with which he embraced the cause of social reform. He imbibed the teachings of Christianity with avidity, studying closely the works of Dean Stanley, Robertson, Liddon and Seeley : and he was profoundly moved by the stress which the teaching of Christ laid upon the ethics of life. And it is in this particular connection that his responsiveness to fresh ideas, stands out in strong contrast to the conservatism of the older elements in the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Devendra Nath Tagore. There can be little doubt, I think, that the latter seriously feared that spiritual religion would be sacrificed to the new passion for social reform ; and with Keshub Chandra Sen's enthusiasm for reform becoming steadily greater, it was inevitable that a split in the ranks of the Samaj should occur. His determination to embark on a crusade was confirmed by his visit to England in 1870, where he met many of the intellectual giants of the day—Dean Stanley, Max Muller, Gladstone and John Stuart Mill—and where he found the women of the country taking an active and a prominent part in public life. And it was only in keeping with his character and temperament, that he should return to India to throw himself with renewed zeal into the task of emancipating

his countrymen from the network of social restrictions imposed on them by long centuries of tradition.

No single document, perhaps, gives a clearer conspectus of his aims and achievements in this direction than the act passed in 1872 at his instance for legalising Brahmo marriages. It abolished early marriage, made polygamy penal, and sanctioned widow and inter-caste marriages. It was a bold measure, and it required a man of unusual courage to carry it through for, as Pundit Siva Nath Sastri observed, it was one of the principal causes that alienated the sympathies of their orthodox countrymen from the reformers. But Keshub Chandra Sen was convinced that he was acting in obedience to the Divine Will, and when once he was satisfied on that point, he never wavered.

This brief sketch of the life and character of Keshub Chandra Sen, imperfect though it be, will suffice perhaps to indicate the influence which he exercised in stemming the tide of profligacy and irreligion which was sweeping over the educated classes of his day, and in retarding the inevitable reaction against the source whence that tide had sprung—the mode of life, the new learning—particularly that derived from discoveries in natural science—and above all the free thought of the West. For he, more than any man perhaps, showed by precept and by example that the gulf between Europe and Asia might be bridged without the sacrifice of anything that was fundamental in the race-genius or the race-culture of either. While he was capable of assimilating much that seemed to him to be good in the ideals and practice of the West, he remained always a true Indian. He was too great a character to become a mere mimic of others, and he was too great a soul to cherish that false pride of race which blinds a man to the virtues of all peoples other than his own. He showed how East and West might be complementary rather than antagonistic to one another, and his life was an incitement to those who might not be willing to go so far as he did in casting aside the restraints and trammels of an ancient and venerable social tradition, at least to follow him in the spirit if not in the actual letter of his teaching.

It was, then, due in large measure to the influence exerted by the lives of men like Keshub Chandra Sen that the violence of the swing back of the pendulum was moderated, and that the possibility of a synthesis of the best features of two distinct civilisations raised itself upon the surface of the troubled waters of Indian life. The question whether that possibility can be realised is the absorbing problem of to-day. The answer to it depends to a large extent upon the nature and ultimate extent of the reaction against the West which is in progress at the present time; and it is this which gives the present position and its tendencies so profound an interest and importance.

There were, of course, at all times critics of the demoralisation of society which marked the middle of the nineteenth century. The laxity and depravity of the times were scathingly commented on by Dinabandhu Mitra, a contemporary and associate of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, in a famous novel entitled "Sadhabar Ekadashi", a story so realistic in its treatment of the subject that an attempt to reprint it in recent times called forth a temporary prohibition order from the authority in Calcutta charged with censorship powers, on the ground that its circulation was inimical to good morals.

But a protest against the manners of the times need not necessarily have been of a revivalist nature. This latter characteristic is much more apparent in other and more marked phases of the reaction and not least, certainly, in the sphere of education. There are, indeed, many indications of a reaction against the exclusively Western system of education which has been described, and they deserve careful consideration.

A RE-ORIENTATION OF AIM ?

The whole of the teaching staff and the majority of the six hundred students attending the classes at Daulatpur reside in hostels of various types, the most striking of which is a group of thatched cottages built in the immemorial style of rural Bengal. In addition to the hostels and the laboratories and class-rooms, there is a guest-house and a temple.

The idea of the institution was explained to me by the little band of enthusiastic workers, to whom it owed its existence, on

the occasion of an informal visit. They told me how, nearly twenty years before, they had been struck with the grave defects of an educational system under which the teaching was wholly divorced from religion. Was it not possible, they asked themselves, to bring about a harmonious combination of the Religion and Philosophy of the East with the Arts and Sciences of the West ? And for the answer they pointed to the buildings all round ; the chemical and physical laboratories much of whose equipment had been manufactured upon the spot ; the simple hostels half seen amid clusters of typical Bengali trees ; the playing fields, and the temple on the floor of whose quiet and shaded portico a Sanskrit pundit was expounding the sastras to an eager but reverent group of boys. The whole scene was a crystallisation of the idea with which they had started, "the combination", to use their own words, "of secular education with moral and religious training based on the highest ideals of life expounded by the Hindu Acharyas of old".

In practice the two distinctive types of education, the Eastern and the Western, flourish side by side, the former being represented by a chatuspathi and the latter by a college affiliated to the Calcutta University. The chatuspathi is conducted in strict accordance with ancient Hindu ideals. Instruction and, in the case of resident students, board and lodging, are provided free of charge. Classes in grammar, literature, Hindu law, Mimamsa and Vedanta are held by the acharya and competent pundits in the court of the temple. Its students have no part in the college ; it is a purely indigenous institution. It exercises a marked influence, however, upon the college, for the temple is the point at which the two systems meet.

It is stated in the trust-deed that "a symbol of God Dadhibaman (Vishnu) was installed in this Institution on the 13th Magh 1310 (February 1, 1904). We de icate this Institution and all property connected herewith to Him. Henceforth He will have His seat in this Institution and will be the proprietor of all its property, both present and future, and also of all its work." And it is in the presence of this symbol of the Eternal installed in the shrine of the temple that teachers and

students of the college and chatuspathi alike meet, and have expounded to them the dharma-sastras of old.

My hosts were somewhat diffident in informing me of the exact extent of the religious instruction given. Much was left to the discretion of the acharya, they said. But in the report of a university inspector drawn up some years ago, I found it stated that instruction from the Manusamhita given by the acharya was compulsory in the case of all Hindu students; and the same writer stated that he could himself bear witness that "a beautiful prayer for the fruitfulness of the day's labour and the happiness and prosperity of the Motherland, chanted simultaneously throughout the whole college at the beginning and the end of each day's work, produces a permanent impression, even upon an uninitiated onlooker".

The influence upon the college of the Eastern tradition as represented by the chatuspathi and the temple, is apparent even on a cursory inspection. It attracts one's attention in the library where the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" shares a shelf appropriately enough with the compendious "Sabdakalpadruma", and "Journals of the Chemical Society" stand side by side with the "Rigveda Samhita". The college time-table follows Indian rather than European custom, the classes being held between 6 a.m. and 10 a.m., and again in the afternoon after a long break in the middle of the day.

As one passed from its class-rooms to its simple hostels one became aware of a distinctive atmosphere, and standing in converse with the earnest band of workers in the shadow of the temple portico, the hush of the tropic noon scarcely broken by the soft murmur of the Bhairab river pursuing its eternal journey from the mountains to the sea, with the restful features of the acharya and his fellow pundits outlined against the gloom which brooded like a softly draped figure of Night behind the open door of the inner shrine, it was easy to believe that the hope of its founders had been realised—that the college had, indeed, "grown under the shade of the temple", and that the teachers and students had found "in their pursuit of knowledge the Worship of God".

A more drastic break with Western tradition, and a more complete return to that of the East than is provided by Daulatpur, is to be found in the educational activities of the Arya Samaj. The early history of the founder of the Samaj, Mulshankar, now known as Swami Dayanand Saraswati, bears a striking resemblance to the story of the early years of Gautama Buddha.

Like the famous scion of the Sakya clan he brooded deeply upon the problems of life, and equally with him he failed to find satisfaction in the creed current among his family and immediate neighbours. As in the case of Gautama so in the case of Mulshankar, his parents sought to distract him from his melancholy meditations by pressing upon him the joys and duties of married life. Less amenable than Gautama, he refused his assent to the marriage arranged for him, and when at length, at the age of twenty, the importunity of his father seemed likely to overcome his resistance, he, like Gautama, went forth from his home on the same quest, discarding all for the saffron robe of the wandering ascetic, possessed of but one idea—the discovery of the hidden portals giving egress from the bewildering thaumatrope of human existence which for more than two millenniums, has weighed so heavily upon the soul of India. This was in the year 1845.

For fifteen years Mulshankar led the life of a homeless wanderer, travelling far and wide, and questioning pundits and sadhus in his search after truth. Nowhere did he find satisfaction The learning of the day seemed to him like the ashes of a dead fire. The intellectual vigour of the great sages of old had burned itself out ; the teachers of to-day were the slaves of dogma, intellectually and spiritually bankrupt. One sage only did he find towards the end of his long search at whose feet he was content to sit—a sannyasi of the same order as Dayanand himself, Swami Virjananda Saraswati, whom he encountered at holy Mathura, the reputed birth-place of Sri Krishna. For more than two years these two kindred spirits lived as guru and chela, and when the time came for them to part Virjananda asked of his pupil in payment of the fee customary on such occasions in ancient times, that he would wage unceasing

warfare against the dogma and the idolatry of the Puranic faith and establish education in accordance with the great Brahmanic tradition of pre-Buddhist days.

The pledge was readily given, for Dayanand had emerged from his long probation a stern iconoclast. He lashed the theologians of a decadent church with the fiery zeal of a protestant reformer. The six systems and the eighteen Puranas he cast aside. For him salvation lay in the worship and service of the One God, the Creator of the Vedas and of the World ; and for his country in the rejection of the mythology and idolatry of the vast mass of theological literature which had laid its parasitic grip upon the Vedic tree, and an unconditional return to the teaching of the Vedas in all its purity. Such was the founder of the Arya Samaj which first took form in Bombay in 1875, and received its final constitution two years later in Lahore. He himself stated quite categorically that he entertained not the least idea of founding a new religion or sect. His sole object was to lead men back to the repository of all knowledge and religious truth—the original Vedas, the Word of God Himself.

The whole history of the Arya Samaj is of extraordinary interest, particularly for the light which it throws on the present day tendencies of the Indian consciousness to assert itself. But I am mainly concerned here with its educational activities, which in themselves are typical of the aim and guiding principle of this powerful movement for the restoration and rejuvenation of the spirit of primitive Hinduism. Every Arya is required to subscribe to ten principles which constitute the creed of the Samaj. Of these the eighth lays down that ignorance must be dispelled and knowledge diffused, and in proof of the zeal with which the application of this principle has been pursued, it is claimed by the Samaj that in the United Provinces and the Punjab, at any rate, its educational work is second in extent to that of Government alone. It possesses two colleges which may be taken as typical of its educational ideal, the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, and the famous Gurukul near Hardwar. Its other institutions are primary and secondary schools of various types, and a certain number of establishments modelled on the Hardwar Gurukul.

The reasons which led to the establishment of these institutions are set forth in the first report of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. After admitting that Western education had stimulated intellectual activity, and had produced some men of whom the country might feel proud, the report goes on to point out that such education has nevertheless produced a deplorable schism in society. An educated class has been created which is without precedent in any country on earth, a class wholly divorced in mental outlook from the vast mass of the people. National education demands among other things adequate study of the national language and literature, and in particular of classical Sanskrit, "wherein lie deep buried and crystallised the fruits of whole lives spent in secluded meditation upon the nature of soul, of virtue, of creation, of matter and, so far as can be vouchsafed to man, of the Creator". And it is stated that the primary object of the founders of the College is to "weld together the educated and uneducated classes by encouraging the study of the national language and vernaculars; to spread a knowledge of moral and spiritual truths by insisting on the study of classical Sanskrit; to encourage sound acquaintance with English literature; and to afford a stimulus to the material progress of the country by spreading a knowledge of the physical and applied sciences". What is aimed at here is clearly a rational synthesis between the learning of East and West, and it has been claimed for it that while it has created an atmosphere of Hindu nationalism, it has at the same time turned out graduates who are playing a leading part in the public and private life of the country.[1]

Nevertheless it failed to satisfy a considerable volume of opinion within the Samaj itself, which demanded a much more drastic severance with Western tradition, and which was responsible for the establishment in the year 1902 of the famous Gurukul near Hardwar.

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1. Speech by Lala Lajpat Rai delivered in London in June 1915. See "The Arya Samaj" by the Speaker, to which I am mainly indebted for the facts and the quotations here given concerning the educational activities of the Samaj.

The avowed aim of its founder, Mr. Munshi Ram, is the revival of the ancient practice of Brahmacharya ; the resuscitation of ancient Indian philosophy and literature, and the building up of a Hindu literature which shall absorb all that is best in Occidental thought; the production of preachers of the Vedic religion and of a culture in which the loftiest elements of the civilisation of East and West shall be harmoniously blended. He took as his model the famous universities of ancient India —Taxila, Sridhanya Katak, Nalanda, Odantapuri and Vikramasila—and at a spot not far removed from Hardwar, where the holy Ganges issues from the heart of the majestic Himalayas, sheltered from the restless activities of man, amid such surroundings as throughout the ages have been sought and prized by the sages of India, he has succeeded, according to Mr. Myron Phelps, an American writer, whose account of the Gurukul is endorsed by its founder, in creating an atmosphere "saturated with the Vedas and the Upanishads". Mr. Munshi Ram has himself described how, when he was searching for a suitable site, he was offered the gift of a large tract of land, chiefly jungle. No one who has appreciated the part played by Nature in the shaping of the thought and culture of India in the past, could doubt the satisfaction with which this gift was accepted For now, as then, the soul of India feels irresistibly the urge towards Nature. She still delights to linger in reverent prayer in softly lighted glades of the silent forest, as in the hushed aisles of a cathedral not built by hands ; now, as then, she listens for the "still small voice" calling to her from the infinite soul of the world, in the eternal murmur of her glorious rivers, hallowed by the adoration of generation upon generation of the great and unceasing migration of mankind across the toil-worn sands of time ; she still sees in her mountains—immutable and sublime—the divine handiwork of the unseen, but ever-present architect. And amid such surroundings she still seeks a place of spiritual reconcilement, where the finite may approach the infinite, a meeting-place between the soul of man and the soul of the world, a vast temple of nature where, if anywhere, the Eternal manifests itself to man as God immanent—omnipotent, omniscient, yet lovingly accessible.

A boy enters the Gurukul at the age of seven or eight, when he takes a vow of poverty, chastity and obedience for sixteen

years, during which time he remains in almost complete isolation from the outside world. Though the parents are permitted to visit the institution at intervals, the inmates are only allowed to return to their homes, during the period of their education, under circumstances of a very special and urgent nature. Discipline is strict and life regular. The day begins at 4 a m., and prayer and worship are offered morning and evening. The former consists of the individual repetition of Sanskrit texts and the latter of the fire oblation prescribed by the Vedas. Much time is also given to moral, ethical and religious instruction. The medium of instruction is Hindi ; but great attention is paid to Sanskrit and English. By the age of seventeen or eighteen the boys read, write and speak the former fluently, and are giving much time to the study of Indian philosophy and logic, while the latter is a compulsory subject from the sixth to the fourteenth year. Physical culture, and games also occupy a regular and important place in the curriculum.

While the outstanding feature of the Gurukul is its rejection of the purely Western system of ducation which has taken root under official auspices and encouragement, and its reversion to a system more in keeping with the traditions and genius of the Hindu people, Western learning has by no means been discarded. And in the estimate of Mr. Myron Phelps, the boy at the end of his tenth year at the Gurukul is at least on a par in intellectual equipment with the student who has reached the intermediate standard in other colleges.

It was inevitable, perhaps, that the loyalty of the Arya Samaj to British rule should be questioned. In the Punjab exception was taken to its political activities—or those of some of its prominent members—both in the disturbances which occurred in 1907 and again in 1919. Controversy has raged over the question. It has been hotly attacked and as hotly defended. The quession of its loyalty or otherwise to British, rule, however, is irrelevant in the connection in which its activities have been examined here. From this point of view its main interest lies in the fact that its educational activities are the outcome of a revolt against the domination of an alien ideal. And it is interesting to note that Mr. Munshi Ram him-

self has adhered faithfully to the path of life laid down in the ancient scriptures of the race as the ideal one for the twice-born castes; for in 1917 he brought to a close the period of his life devoted to active pursuits—the second of the four stages described in the Institutes of Manu—and since that time, under the name of Swami Shraddhananda, has lived the life of a sannyasi. And if his recent association with the *shuddhi* movement, the object of which is the restoration to the fold of Hinduism of the Muhammadan descendants of converted Hindus, has involved him in activities which are hardly in accord with the isolation from the world required of the strict Sannyasi, this must be attributed to his zeal for the Arya Samaj as an active missionary body.

Such institutions as the Hindu Academy at Daulatpur and the Gurukul at Hardwar provide striking illustrations of the swing back to Indian tradition which has been noticeable in many quarters in recent times. A reaction of the same kind is to be observed, as I have already indicated, in the strongholds of the Western system themselves. The Western-educated Indian of to-day no longer looks upon his country's past with the contempt of his predecessor of fifty years ago. On the contrary, his tendency is, rather, unduly to exalt it. At the second Oriental Conference—itself an indication of the rapidly growing interest of Indians in their own past—the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji, C.S.I., took pride in the fact that the University had been "the first in academic circles to recognise the supreme value of oriental studies by the foundation of a chair in ancient Indian history and culture, by the establishment of a new department for advanced instruction and research in that fascinating domain, and by the institution of a special degree for the encouragement of meritorious students". And an examination of the work of the department of post-graduate studies, which came into existence towards the close of 1917, is sufficient to show how eager is now the desire among Western-educated Indians themselves, to probe into that vast storehouse of ancient lore which Macaulay dismissed with a gesture as a contemptible collection of crude puerilities and fantastic superstitions.

With the inauguration of the department there was brought together, under the shadow of the university, a staff of fifty scholars devoted exclusively to teaching and research in various branches of ancient Indian learning. Sanskrit, the sorry vehicle less than a century before of history, physics, theology and metaphysics, for which Macaulay could find no epithet other than "absurd", was now divided up into ten great groups of subjects under the charge of twenty university teachers. Fourteen more devoted their time and abilities to ancient Indian history and culture, ten to Pali, and six to Islamic studies, Arabic and Persian. A chair of Indian Fine Arts was created and a famous Indian artist, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, appointed to it. The scientific study of Indian vernaculars was undertaken, and a scheme inaugurated for the institution of a special degree therein. In 1922 the Indian Vice-Chancellor of the University which in 1861 had withdrawn from the candidates for its entrance examination the right of answering in their own tongue, and which in 1864 had gone a step further and removed the vernaculars from its B.A. courses altogether, spoke with enthusiasm of "that great department of Indian vernaculars which is a special feature of our university, and which should constitute its chief glory in the eyes of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens".[2] He went on to declare with obvious satisfaction that for the first time in the history of higher education in British India an attempt had been made to impart instruction to students in "Indian Epigraphy, Indian Fine Arts, Indian Iconography, Indian Coinage, Indian Palaeography, Indian Architecture, Indian Economic Life, Indian Social Life, Indian Administration, Indian Religions, Indian Astronomy, Indian Mathematics and Indian Race Origins". And, gazing back down the vanishing vista of the past over the century of growth of the educational system, he pronounced his verdict upon it; the attempt to modernise the East by the importation of Western culture to the complete supersession of Indian ideals had proved a failure; the Indian universities had not succeeded in taking root in the life of the nation because they had been exotics.

2. Address by the late Sir Asutosh Mukherj, C.S.I., at the annual convocation of the Calcutta University, March 18, 1922.

And he concluded with a profession of the faith that was in him : "Western civilisation, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede, much less be permitted to destroy, the vital elements of our civilisation".

Nor was it in the Calcutta University only that there were indications of a quickening interest on the part of Western-educated Indians in their country's past. In northern Bengal a little body of Indian gentlemen had formed themselves in 1910 into a society for the promotion of systematic archaeological research. The field of their labours was a wide tract of country known in Sanskrit literature as Varendra, the home of the great Pala dynasty which rose to power towards the close of the eighth century A D., and which made of its kingdom a great centre of Buddhist culture. When in November 1919 I had the pleasure of opening the admirable museum which was one of the first-fruits of the society's activities, it contained a collection of near y 1350 Sanskrit manuscripts, gold, silver and copper coins ; some of the earliest copper-plate records hitherto discovered in India ; a number of images in metal, and a collection of several hundred specimens of sculpture in stone.

All this is significant. It is the repetition in India of a process through which the British people themselves passed before the wonderful flowering of English literature and learning took place. It is sometimes forgotten that just as India of the nineteenth century felt the necessity of a foreign language as its vehicle of learning, so did Great Britain in the sixteenth and preceding centuries experience the same necessity. For centuries English occupied the same position as did the vernaculars of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In cultured circles it was regarded with contempt as the jargon of the people. "If a man would commune with great minds," as a recent writer has reminded us, "whether of the past in their writings or of the present by cultured speech, he must have Latin. Would he be a churchman, an administrator, a diplomatist ? He must speak fluently, he must read and write with ease, the international tongue...Would he be a man of science, of medicine, of law, of letters ? Again he must have Latin, for there were

not the books in English. Without Latin he could neither learn nor teach "[3] But silently and even unperceived perhaps, at the time, the soul of England was preparing to blossom forth in raiment of its own, and the dialects of those centuries "barbarous and most unstable", have since become the mother-tongue of 180,000,000 people, and of all the languages of Europe, the most widely spoken in the other continents of the world. Englishmen can scarcely view with anything but sympathy, then, such attempts of modern India as have been described above, to strike root once more in her own intellectual soil. Such sympathy would have been deeper and wider spread, had it not been for the fact that in the sphere of politics the resurgent spirit of Indian has at times been perverted along channels which have led to rebellious movements against the existing order. A notable case in point was the revolutionary movement in Bengal which was responsible for a formidable volume of political crime during at least a decade from 1907 onwards, and which has lately made a sinister reappearance upon the scene of its former activities. There is no sadder chapter in the history of modern India than that which recounts the callous perversion of the emotional enthusiasm of a number of the young men of Bengal by the organisers of this criminal conspiracy. A study of it will be found illuminating.

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3. Mr. H.W. Household, in the *Hibbert Journal* for April 1923.

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A MISINTERPRETATION OF INDIAN NATIONALISM*

PERVERTED PATRIOTISM

In January 1918 a Committee assembled in Calcutta under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. Justice Rowlatt, judge of the King's Bench Division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice, to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India. Their report was submitted to Government on April the 15th, the conclusion which they had arrived at being that all the conspiracies which they had investigated were directed towards one and the same objective, the overthrow by force of British rule in India. Speaking of Bengal in particular they expressed the opinion that the revolutionary outrages with which they were concerned were all "the outcome of a widespread but essentially single movement of perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism".

This movement had broken out in anarchial form in Bengal in 1906, and during the succeeding ten years had been characterised by a long series of outrages including an appreciable number of assasinations.

Between 1906 and 1917 twenty-one police officers had been murdered in the Presidency besides a public prosecutor, the headmasters of two schools, two witnesses who had given evidence against members of the revolutionary party, and

*From Earl of Ronaldshay : *The Heart of Aryavarta*, Chapters VIII, IX, X.

fifteen other persons who were believed to have given information to Government. In all, eighty-two persons in Bengal lost their lives during the period, and one hundred and twenty-one were wounded; while attempts were made upon the lives of a number of high officials, including a lieutenant-governor, a district judge, and a district magistrate. The fresh outbreak in 1923 was destined once again to stain the honour of Bengal with some peculiarly revolting crimes, of which the cold-blooded murder of an Indian postmaster in Calcutta on August the 3rd, 1923, and the callous assassination of an English assistant in a Calcutta business house in broad daylight in the most fashionable thoroughfare in the European quarter of the city on January the 12th, 1924, provide outstanding examples. The latter crime was not rendered less shocking by the confession of the perpetrator that he had mistaken the murdered man for his intended victim—a high official. It was rendered all the more brutal by his attitude in the dock, and by his insolent declaration that he hoped that others would be found to complete his uncompleted task. What is the nature of the impulse which has prompted such revolting deeds?

Some part of the momentum has undoubtedly been derived from sources outside India. During the war some at least of the organisers of the conspiracy effected touch through tortuous channels with German agents; and a similar connection has been traced between the more recent developments of the movement and hostile element in Russia. I am not so much concerned to trace the movement to its source, however, as to examine the methods by which the organisers of the movement—whoever they are and whatever their motives—have sought successfully to commend their programme of violent crime to appreciable numbers of young men, the sons of respectable and law-abiding parents. The mentality of such persons does, indeed, provide a psychological study of extreme interest. In the course of a jail inspection I was brought into personal contact with a number of young men charged with the murder of a police officer. They were all af the Hindu middle classes known as *badralok*. They showed no disposition to deny the charge, but at the same time appeared to be oppressed by no sense of moral guilt. One at least appeared to cherish

feelings of genuine regret that circumstances should have necessitated his being a party to the assassination of a person against whom he harboured no feelings of personal hatred. But he seemed to be troubled by no doubts as to the righteousness of his action.

Further light was thrown upon this aspect of the case by the literature of the movement, notably by a document in which was set forth an elaborate scheme for the organisation of the revolutionary forces. In the course of some introductory remarks it was stated that Salvation was the goal which every member of the league wished to reach. Mention was made of certain essentials to the winning of the goal. Salvation, it was stated, was not possible without the revival of the ancient Hindu spiritual culture in all it's phases. The spiritual idea, it was explained, demanded the formation of national character on the basis of national education in indigenous institutions under independent Indian management. For this, political independence in its entirety was a prerequisite. After this preliminary explanation the writer went on to describe the details of the organisation. Minute instructions to the active organisers of the league were drawn up under different heads such as training, the diffusion of literature, the formation of character, discipline, intelligence, finance and recruitment. The instructions under this latter head were significant. Among the agencies to be employed for securing recruits were school-masters and professors of colleges, philanthropic associations, religious institutions and associations, students' messes, hostels, reading clubs and so on. A digest of the subjects which should be discussed with the recruit was then given. This began with questions of a general nature calculated to arouse his interest. He was to be asked to consider the nature of man ; his existence and the cause thereof : his origin and the reason for his life upon this earth ; his relation and duty to the world and his environment. From these generalities he was to be brought to particulars. He was to be asked to consider the duties he owed to India. A picture was to be painted for him of "India past, India present, and India future in its three phases, political, religious and social".

The future India was to be set up as the goal for which he was to strive.

Philosophical and religious literature was to be given to him to study. It was to be impressed upon him that religion should be his goal and moral scruples his guiding principles; that life was a mission and duty the highest law. "Each one of us", declared the writer, "is bound to purify his own soul as a temple, free it from egotism set before himself, with a religious sense of its importance the study of the problem of his own life, and search out what is the most striking and most urgent need of the men by whom he is surrounded." Finally, the man who was to become a genuine member of the league must become consumed with "a yearning for unity, moral and political, founded upon some great organic authoritative idea, the love of country, the worship of India, the sublime vision of the destiny in store for her, leading the Indians in holiness and truth."

A study of the document of which the above is a very brief outline, left little doubt that success in recruiting was obtained by appealing to the idealism which is so marked a characteristic of the Indian mind. Innumerable examples could be given to show with what fidelity these instructions were carried out. A young man stated in explanation of how he became involved in the movement, that it, was through a teacher in a certain high school. "In December he began to lecture me on religious and moral subjects, advised me to practise Bramacharya [the study of Brahman] and to give up play. He used to give me books to read on religious and moral subjects. By and by I was given to know by him that there was an Anushilan party whose aim was to do good to the country. At first I had no idea that this party also planned murders and dacoities; but gradually I came to know this."

This case provides a very good example of the insidious methods by which the seed was sown. The boy was advised to practise Bramacharya. *i.e.*, the study of Brahman. To a Hindu boy the word Bramacharya is full of meaning. It brings vividly to his mind the rigid ordering of the life of the priestly caste laid down by the code of Manu—a life divided into the

four definite stages of studentship with its study of the vedic system and its rigorous discipline, of family life with its duties as a householder, of retirement from the society of men with its mortification of the flesh ; and finally of life divorced from home and all earthly ties devoted to the practice of asceticism In other words, it brings to his mind something which is peculiarly Indian ; something of which he, as an Indian, is the privileged inheritor He is led to ponder upon the India of the past, and to contrast it with the India of the present, and it is an easy step from the contemplation of the past and present to speculation as to and hope for the future.

Other statements came to my notice which showed how responsive was the youth of Bengal to this subtle appeal.

"From my early life", wrote a young Bengali whose imagination had been captured by it, "I was of a religious turn of mind and was in the habit of nursing the sick and helping the poor...I began to feel a peculiar despondency and was pondering over my life's mission, which I thought should be towards the amelioration of the condition of the poor and the needy when I met A, with whom I had some conversation on the subject. After a few days I met him again and he gave expressions congenial to my religious tendencies and encouraged me in my line of thought. After some days more he gave me a book called 'Desher Kotha[1] to read, which I did. On reading the book I got an excitement of mind, thinking of our past glories and the present deplorable condition of the people of this country. Suspecting nothing, I began to have closer intimacy with him and to have religious discourse with him at times. Gradually he began to insert ideas of anarchism into my religiously disposed mind, saying that religion and politics are inseparable and that our paramount duty should be to do good to the people of our country." The writer then tells how he was given another book to read entitled "Pathrabali"[2] by Vivekananda,

1. The title signifies "all about the country", and the book deals with the economic condition of the country, with the object of casting the blame for all that is unfavourable upon British rule.

2. Collection of letters by the great apostle of neo-vedantism.

and how he learned from it what self-sacrifice the author had made for the good of his country. Later he was asked if he had read the books of Bankim babu, and it was suggested to him that he should read "Ananda Math". He did so, and his mentor then discussed it with him and pointed out the morals of the story and suggested that much good could be done to the country if only one desired.

A vast accumulation of evidence of a similar character pointed definitely to an earnest groping after an ideal by the impressionable young men who became entangled in the movement ; though only too often the ideal was lost sight of in the dust stirred up by the perpetration of deeds of violence. Many episodes took place which showed that the weapon of violence was a two-edged one which recoiled upon those who employed it. It became apparent in many cases that a man who had once adopted the role of the highwayman in the interests of an ideal before long adopted it in the interests of himself. The economic pressure upon the educated middle classes of Bengal is severe ; and among the revolutionaries themselves quarrels arising out of the misappropriation of party funds were frequent, showing that under this pressure degeneration set in, and that a man who had once stolen for an ideal was in danger of becoming little more than a common thief.

Nevertheless the ideal was there—the yearning for a revival of the ancient culture of the Hindu race, the natural corollary of the reaction against the excessive Westernisation of the country described in the foregoing chapters. This in itself provides an explanation of the exclusively Hindu character of the revolutionary movement in Bengal, for the ranks of the secret societies contained neither Moslem nor peasant, but were confined to the educated Hindu middle classes, *i.e.* those who were conscious of being the inheritors of a distinctive culture—that of the Indo-Aryan race[3] The revolutionary movement in Bengal was *au fond* this yearning, expressing itself in terms of force. This at any rate is the interpretation placed on it by Indians themselves, who, while differing from the revolutionary

3. This was of course before the defeat of Turkey in the World War brought the kilafat movement into existence and excited Muhammadan sentiment against Great Britain.

party upon the question of methods, share with it a passionate admiration for the spiritual genius of their people and a longing for a renewed flowering of the ancient culture of their race. Such an interpretation of the anarchical movement in Bengal is vividly set forth in a memorandum in my possession, by an Indian gentleman who was placed by circumstances in a position in which he was in the confidence of some, at least, of those who were connected with the movement.[4] The following precis contains, I think, a fair presentation of the writer's views.

PANEGYRICS OF THE PAST

The Memorandum of which I have spoken purports to be an explanation of "the storm that had been gathering in the heart of India for the best part of a decade, and would demand immediate attention at the close of the War". A desire for release from foreign tutelage is postulated, and the writer begins by tracing a history of the methods by which educated Indians have endeavoured to bring about, in the government of their country, "the principle of national liberty, which has for its outer embodiment in England the British Parliament."

First came the Indian National Congress, whose leaders made speeches, passed resolutions, and thought that by much importunity they might obtain their desire. "But the doom of this easy political doctrine was drawing near", and the partition of Bengal is cited as "a conclusive object-lesson in the impotence of that method of mendicancy by which Indians had been dreaming of securing self-government." The attitude of Government is depicted as a complete answer to those who sought to attain their ends by constitutional means. "The united voice of the whole nation rose and fell like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. None heeded it. The Viceroy persevered in this scheme of administrative division ; and the English Parliament pronounced its benediction upon it. The political method of the Congress had been tried and failed—and the people fell upon bitterness."

4. The author of the Memorandum was Mr. B C. Chatterji, barrister-at-law.

Into these black depths of despair, we are next told, there suddenly fell a spark of light. Japan, an Eastern nation, had flung aside the tyranny of the West and had gloriously vindicated her right to unfettered independence by her victory over Russia. Henceforth, a new hope—the hope of liberty and independence—burned with a bright flame in the soul of Bengal. A gifted prophet of this new creed arose in the person of Bepin Chandra Pal,[5] "who threw the whole strength and passion of his being into the work of proselytising his countrymen to the creed of his adoption". And hard upon the footsteps of Bepin Chandra Pal came Arabinda Ghose, who "aspired to work out for the whole continent that liberation of the human spirit which Bepin Chandra Pal was accomplishing in Bengal."

So far, then, the explanation of the ferment in Bengal is a sufficiently simple one It discloses the not unfamiliar spectacle of a subject people girding against their importance to influence the decisions, still less to control the actions of their alien rulers. But we now come to a contributory cause of a far more subtle and illusive character. Speaking of Arabinda Ghose, the writer declares in a fine passage that "the aspirations of Young India were in his writings, a divining intention of the spirit of liberty, the beating of whose wings was being heard over Asia ; an exaltation, an urgency, a heartening call on his countrymen to serve and save the Motherland, an impassioned appeal to their manhood to reinstate her in the greatness that was hers. Had she not once been the High Priestess of the Orient ? Had not her civilisation left its ripple-mark on the furthermost limits of Asia ? India still had a soul to save, which the parching drought of modern vulgarity threatened daily with death ; she alone in a pharisaical world, where every one acclaimed God in speech and denied Him in fact, offered Him the worship of her heart ; she alone yet gave birth to the choice spirits who cast aside the highest of earth's gifts in their enraptured pursuit of the life of life. Show us the country but India that could produce in the nineteenth century the Saint of

5. The author of the essays referred to in the Prologue, and now a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Dakshineshwar. The saving wisdom was still in the land which taught man how to know and realise his God—the wisdom which had been gathered and garnered in their forest homes by her priest-philosophers, the builders of the Vedas, the thinkers of the Upanishads, the greatest aristocrats of humanity that had ever been. But how should the culture of the soul survive in the land where a shifting materialism was asserting itself under the aegis of foreign rule ? Had not the fools and the Philistines, whose name was legion—the monstrous products of a soulless education nourished on the rind of European thought—already begun to laugh at their country's past ? And dared to condemn the wisdom of their ancestors ? Was India to deform herself from a temple of God into one vast inglorious suburb of English civilisation ? Even beauty, the vernal Goddess enshrined in her hymns and her poetry, was feeling the country chased by a hungry commercialism pouring out its flood of ugly and worthless wares owing naught to art or religion. This doom that impended over the land must be averted. India must save herself by ending the alien dominion which had not only impoverished her body, but was also strangulating her soul. It was only in an independent India, with the reins of self-determination in her own hands, that the ideal could be re-enthroned in its integrity of high thinking and holy living, which cast on every man the obligation to cultivate throughout life the knowledge of Atman (Self and God), and of striving to realise in conduct the code of humanity that Gautama Buddha had enjoined. It was from the height of this vision of India to be that he called upon his countrymen to prepare themselves to be free, and *not* for the mere secularity of autonomy and wealth, the pseudo-divinities upon whose altars Europe has sacrificed her soul and would some day end by immolating her very physical existence."

Here we have clear intimation of something other than mere political unrest. The passage gives a vivid idea of the clash of two distinct cultures—those of the East and of the West. The idealism of the one is contrasted with what is pictured as the materialism of the other. The whole passage portrays a violent reaction against the tendencies of the

nineteenth century, which have been described in the earlier chapters of this volume; and an appeal is made to instincts deep-rooted in the Hindu mind. The effect, according to the writer, was profound. "The nation felt a quickening in the beating of its heart, a stirring in its blood, the vibration of chords long silent in its race consciousness."

The apostles of the new movement were not slow to grasp the advantage of playing upon the religious side of the people's mind. Following in the wake of Bepin Chandra Pal and Arabinda Ghose there appeared a fiery prophet of the new nationalism in the person of Barindra Kumar Ghose, who breathed forth contempt and ridicule against the constitutionalists. What he demanded of India was men—"hundreds of thousands of them who are ready to wipe out with their blood the stain of her age-long subjection". And the burden of Barindra Kumar Ghose's song also (if the writer's interpretation of his propaganda is correct) was that the soul of India was being strangled by the materialism of the West. Unless they bestirred themselves they would become a race of slaves. "And then? Good-bye for ever to the India of Valmiki and Vyasa, of the Vedas and Vedanta, from whose sacred soil had sprung Lord Krishna and Gautama Buddha. Farewell Priestess of Asia, mistress of the eastern seas, temple of Nirvana to which pilgrims journeyed from Palestine and Cathay... Come, then, with the vow of death that you may renew life. Remember the soil that your blood will manure shall bear the florescence of a new faith that shall redeem mankind, the fruitage of a new manhood that shall readjust the rights and wrongs of the world."

By temperament the people of Bengal are imaginative and highly emotional. Appeals to their pride of race were well calculated to sweep them off their feet. The fiery oratory of Barindra Kumar Ghose and his fellow-workers and the writings of an unrestrained press, which sprang into existence as the new movement spread, "smote on the heart of the people as on a giant's harp, awakening out of it a storm and a tumult such as Bengal had never known through the long centuries of her political serfdom".

From this brief precis it will be seen that one of the factors which go to make up a complex whole is nationalism expressing itself in terms of religion. And in India, indeed, religion enters into politics as it does into most of the activities of man which in the West are usually described as secular. Not long ago at a large gathering of politicians in Bengal convened for the discussion of non-cooperation, the outstanding political controversy of the day, the speech of the principal speaker, Babu Sarat Chandra Ghose, was described by one who heard it as "a discourse on the abstract truth of Hindu philosophy rather than a political address". Similarly, at an earlier date before the birth of the non-cooperation movement, Mr. C.R. Das, soon to become the leader of the extremists of Bengal, delivered an address from the presidential chair at the annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress in 1917, which reflected views similar to these which have been set forth above.

Mr. Das spoke, indeed, with all the ardour of a missionary. He smote in pieces the golden calf which he set up as symbolical of the ideals of Europe, and with the fervour of a seer, he pointed the way to a promised land. His dominating note was hatred—and dread—of everything that savoured of the West. The industrialism, the commerce, the education, the very mode of life itself of Europe—all these were held up to opprobrium and denounced with undiscriminating bitterness. It was the pursuit of these false gods that had converted Bengal from a smiling land of happiness and plenty into a salt waste over which brooded stagnation and death. With a fine disregard of historical accuracy, the India of pre-British days was pictured in glowing colours as a land of happiness and prosperity. "We had corn in our granaries ; our tanks supplied us with fish ; and the eye was soothed and refreshed by the limpid blue of the sky and the green foliage of the trees. All day long the peasant toiled in the fields ; and at eve, returning to his lamp-lit home, he sang the song of his heart." But these things were no more. "The granaries are empty of their golden wealth ; the kine are dry and give no milk ; and the fields once so green are dry and parched with thirst. What remains is the dream of former happiness and the languor and misery

of insistent pain." How, he asked, had this fearful nakedness and desolation come about ? The whole significance of the speech lay in the answer which he gave to this question. It was repeated over and over again in varying form throughout the discourse. "We had made aliens of our own people ; we had forgotten the ideals of our heart. As I look back on the dim darkness of this distant century, the past seems peopled with vague and phantom shapes of terror ; and I repeat again that the fault was ours. We had lost our manhood ; and losing manhood we had lost all claim save the claim of life. Miserable as we were—our commerce, our manufacture, our industry—we sacrificed it all on the altar of the alien tradesman. The wheel and distaff broke in our household ; we cut off our own hands and feet ; we strangled fortune in her own cradle."

Word pictures of a golden age of peace and plenty before the advent of the British have become so common a property in the nationalist orators' rhetorical stock in trade, that some comment seems called for. Perhaps the best corrective for these strange historical aberrations is provided by the literature current amongst the peasantry itself. For centuries past there have been sung and handed down from father to son amongst the peasant population of Eastern Bengal a whole collection of ballads, the faithful record by village poets of episodes in the daily lives of the people A number of these illuminating songs has recently been collected, edited and translated by Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, who has done so much to make better known to the world the literary treasures of Bengal. Amongst these ballads is the story of Kenaram, a famous robber chief. This interesting work, composed by the poetess Chandravati, is described by the editor of the collection as a historical account by one who knew them at first hand, of events in Bengal during the closing quarter of the sixteenth century. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that it contains an accurate account of events in Mr. Das's golden age before the advent of the British.

The tale which it unfolds is that of a land racked and riven by anarchy, of deserted homesteads, and of a people harried and panic-stricken under a chaotic administration. "The people buried their wealth the under earth for fear of plunder",

sings the poetess. "The robbers strangled the wayfarers with nooses of rope. Many villages presented a scene of total desertion under the rule of the kajis." And with particular reference to the activities of Kenaram—"the very leaves of the trees shivered as if in fright : none dared to light a lamp in the evening lest it should attract notice to the house, nor dared to come outside after dark". An interesting commentary, surely, upon Mr. Das's glowing picture of the peasant toiling in the fields all day and "at eve returning to his lamp-lit home" to sing the song of his heart.

Nor does this historical ballad bear out the contention of Mr. Das and his fellow-thinkers that famine is a product of British rule. "At this time", declares Chandravati, the village poetess, "the district of Mymensingh was visited by one of the most cruel famines that had ever come upon Bengal." And she describes its horrors in graphic detail. "The homes of many families became scenes of terrible suffering, and men and women died by hundreds...Husbands sold their wives and wives their children. All convention, all affection and feeling were gone, and men became like lower animals seeking the whole day long for something to live upon."

It would seem, therefore, that even before the advent of the British there were sombre interludes amid the golden days of brimming granaries and sweet content. Mr. Das's history would, indeed, profit by a perusal of the whole collection of these interesting ballads, even if in the process it lost something of its bold and picturesque originality.

Let me now return to Mr. Das's speech. From contemplation of the prostration of the countryside he turned his gaze upon the cities, and poured the vials of his wrath upon th ecommercialism of the age.

The industrialism of Europe was anathema—a thing accursed. "Christian Europe within the last two hundred years has forsaken Christ and set up the mammon of industrialism", and had trodden in pain the path of sorrow. Could they not heed the writing upon the wall ? Must they too grope blindly after

this grisly monster ? "In our heart of hearts, this one thing we must remember for ever, that this industrialism never was and never will be art and part of our nature...If we seek to establish industrialism in our land, we shall be laying down with our own hands the road to our destruction. Mills and factories—like some gigantic monster—will crush out the little of life that still feebly pulsates in our veins, and we shall whirl round with their huge wheels and be like some dead and soulless machine ourselves ; and the rich capitalist operating at a distance will lick us dry of what little blood we still may have."

The Western system of education had been imposed like shackles upon the people. In the golden days of Aryavarta education congenial to the people had been diffused in the household of the guru, in the institutions of domestic life, through *jatras* and *kathakathas*, in the songs from Ramayana and Chandi, in Sankirtans, and in the *Bratas* and rituals of the women-folk "But, like other ideals, our ideal of education also has become mean and impoverished. We have set up the huge structure of the University,...but this abnormal system has brought many evils in its train, and it will continue to be a source of evil in the days to come. For one thing, it has imparted an element of unnecessary anglicism into our manners and modes of life, so that in outer seeming it might almost appear as if the educated Bengali had little organic touch with the heart of his countrymen." This more than anything was destroying the genius of Bengal. It might be suited to other lands and other peoples, but for Bengal it was an empty simulacrum, a system without a soul, a lifeless image standing upon feet of clay, which must be broken and cast out of the national temple of learning. "To me it seems perfectly clear that if we want to lead our newly awakened consciousness in the paths of true knowledge, education will have to be diffused through the medium of our own vernacular and not through the unwholesome medium of English. The education which we now receive is a borrowed and imitated article ; it does not co-operate with the national genius of our being, and hence it is powerless to enrich the life blood of our soul."

Even in their politics, the speaker declared there was no life or reality, merely mimicry of an alien system They had borrowed the phrases and the formulae of the West, and in doing so had neglected the one thing essential. They never thought of Bengal, of their past national history or their looked to their country, never present material condition. Hence their political agitation was unreal and unsubstantial, divorced from all intimate touch with the soul of the people. Down in the depths of their soul they, the educated people, had become anglicised. They read in English and thought in English. Their borrowed anglicism repelled the masses of their countrymen, who preferred the genuine article to the shoddy imitation. Thus in every aspect of their present life—in commerce, in industry, in education, in politics, in social custom—they found the taint of anglicism. "Mimic anglicism has become an obsession with us ; we find its black footprint in every walk and endeavour of our life. We substitute meeting-houses for temples ; we perform stage plays and sell pleasures in order to help charities ; we hold lotteries in aid of orphanages ; we give up the national and healthful games of our country and introduce all sorts of foreign importations. We have become hybrid in dress, in thought, in sentiment and culture, and are making frantic attempts even to be hybrids in blood."

Quotations might be multiplied, but enough has been said to show that the speaker had gone forth to preach a sermon and to point a moral. The state of the country to-day stood in sombre contrast with the Bengal of old. This calamity had been brought about because, in the dust which had been raised by the clash of ideals of East and West, the people had lost sight of their own divinities, and had cast their offerings upon the altars of strange gods. But the speaker did not stop here. He asked his audience to consider how it was that the people had been thus led astray, and having answered this question, he pointed to the signs which had been given that the scales were falling from their eyes, and while exhorting them to pay heed to these signs and portents, he himself assumed the role of prophet, and pointed the road to the promised land. How was it that they had succumbed to this passion for alien culture and foreign ideals ? It was because when the English

came to Bengal the people of the land were decadent. They were a people whose vital spark had burned low, whose Religion of Power had become a mockery of its former self—had lost its soul of beneficence in the repetition of empty formulae and the observance of meaningless mummeries. As with religion, so with knowledge; the traditions of Navadvipa's ancient glory and scholarship had become a mere name and memory. And so it had happened to them as it happens to all the weak. From pure inanition they had accepted the English Government, and with that the English race—their culture, their civilisation and their luxury. But the time had come when they must cast off the spell which had lain upon them. Already prophets of the race had arisen who had kindled once again the fires on the ancient altars. Bankim had come and had set up the image of their Mother in the Motherland. He had called unto the whole people, and had said, "Behold, this is our Mother, well-watered well-fruited, cooled with the southern breeze, green with the growing corn; worship her and establish her in your homes." Time had passed. The trumpet of *Swadeshism* had begun to sound in 1903. The *Swadeshi* movement had come like a tempest; it had rushed along impetuously like some mighty flood, submerging them, sweeping them off their feet, but revitalising their lives. Under its reviving influence they had steeped themselves once again in that stream of culture and civilisation which had been flowing perennially through the heart of Bengal. They had been enabled once more to catch glimpses of the true continuity of their national history. The main problem for their consideration, therefore, was this—how to develop fully and adequately the newly awakened national life of Bengal? And assuming the role of priest and prophet, he pointed the road. In this critical period of nation—building they must root out and cast aside the European ideal of indulgence, and must cleave fast to their native and ancient ideal of sacrifice. Problems of education and culture, of agriculture and commerce, must be dealt with in the light of their treatment in the past. The connection of these things with their ancient social system must be considered. And not this alone. They must consider also the precise relation in which all their thoughts, endea-

vours and activities stood, and still stand, with reference to the question of religion, for they would misread and misknow all things unless they kept this point steadily in view. They must accept only what was consonant with the genius of their being, and must reject and utterly cast aside what was foreign to their soul. What they formerly possessed, the permanent and perennial source of their strength, was still theirs. The state y and majestic rivers of Bengal which rushed impetuously towards the sea and the strength and might of which it was impossible to resist—they still flowed onwards in all their ancient majesty ond might of strength. The august Himalaya, ancient of days, still stood lifting up its brow towards Heaven. The great permanent features of earth upon which the life and soul of Bengal were founded—they were still there, permanent, immutable, majestic. Theirs the task to restore the life that had fled, to revivify the soul that was all but dead.

With the economic theories propounded by Mr. Das—viz. the superiority of the system of production which existed in all countries before the introduction of steam power—I am not here concerned. The real interest of the address lies in the insight which it gives into the working of the speaker's mind. That his whole outlook upon life is dominated by racial bitterness is plainly apparent : that the intention no less than the effect of his words must be to foster racial antagonism is scarcely open to doubt. Of course Mr. Das condemned the revolutionary crime which he described as the outer manifestation of the feeling of impatience and despair which had permeated the minds of the younger generation--impatience and despair born of the thwarting by the bureaucracy of a noble and overwhelming desire to serve their Motherland. Nevertheless, it was the doctrine set forth by Mr. Das and others before him, and the preaching of it, which were largely responsible for the illegitimate outlet which this pent-up energy sought. The people of Bengal are peculiarly susceptible to the influence of oratory. Appeals to their past greatness, couched in powerful and moving language, are capable of stirring their souls to their very depths. And naturally enough, perhaps, the darker shadows in the picture

of Indian life as it existed when Great Britain took up her beneficent task find no place in these glittering but fanciful panegyrics of the past. The inhuman practice of suttee, in accordance with which, year after year, hundreds of unfortunate women were burned alive on their dead husbands' funeral pyres—a custom upheld by the priesthood as having been ordained by the earliest scriptures of the race—finds no mention in them. Neither does the scourage of the Thugs, by whom murder by strangulation followed by robbery was reduced to a fine art under the religious sanction of the goddess Bhawani ; nor yet the equally heinous practice of infanticide, which in some parts of the country was responsible for the wholesale slaughter of female children. Still less does that fact that it was a British Viceroy who brought suttee to an end ; that it was British initiative that brought to justice in the brief space of six years two thousand Thugs, and so ridded the land of one of its most cruel afflictions ; or that it was, once again, British action which purged India of the cancer of infanticide.[6] Forgotten are the mutilations and other forms of torture inflicted as punishments at the individual caprice of those who administered what passed for a system of criminal justice, before the British established a new and merciful reign of law ; forgotten is the devouring sword of the Pindharis who swept over the land, leaving in their train the smouldering ashes of perished homesteads, the anguish of tortured and ravished humanity, side by side with the lifeless bodies of the victims of their blood lust For these twentieth-century audiences hypnotised by the persuasive oratory of Mr. Das and his colleagues, these things might never have been. Fo· them the India of pre British days was a

6. A startling illustration of the magnitude of this evil before the intervention of the British is provided by the case of the Chaudhan Thakurs, a numerous and important Rajput clan in the district of Mainpuri in the United Provinces. When in 1842 serious steps were taken by the authorities to deal with the evil, it was found by Mr. Unwin, the officer concerned with the matter, that there was not a single female child alive amongst the Chaudhan Thakurs in the district. Within a year 156 girls were enumerated, and by 1847 this number had risen to 299.

golden land of peace and plenty: the India of to-day a sick and stricken land, lying pale and wan under the deadening shadow of the West.

THE SONG OF THE LORD

Such, in brief, is the "Song of the Lord". Its popularity in revolutionary circles, when the reason for that popularity is considered, provides one of the most tragic of the many examples with which the history of mankind abounds, of religious zeal perverted to irreligious ends.

More than a dozen copies of the "Gita" were found among the effects of the Dacca Anushilan Samiti when the Society was first proscribed and its premises searched in 1908; and there was evidence to show that special "Gita" classes were regularly held there. The *Juguntur* newspaper, the most violent, perhaps, of all the revolutionary organs which had sooner or later to be suppressed, had as its motto the verse from the poem which declares the repeated incarnation of God for the protection of the good and the destruction of evil-doers; and members of the Society were required to take its vows with a sword and copy of the "Gita" on the head, while the observance of certain ceremonies in which the "Gita" played an essential part was customary when some revolutionary enterprise was about to be undertaken.

It will be seen from the brief resume of the "Gita" which I have given, how easily the teaching to certain of its texts can be represented as giving support to criminal action in the interests of a perverted patriotism. The stress which is laid upon the relative unimportance of human life and its inevitable transitoriness, is used to accustom the novice to the relative unimportance of giving and taking life; while the constant exhortation to Arjuna to fight, is held to apply to every one striving for the restoration of righteousness upon earth, *i e.* the revival of the Hindu religion. It is easy to understand the play which can be made with a text such as the following: "Slain thou wilt obtain Heaven: victorious thou wilt enjoy the earth; therefore stand up, O Son of Kunti, resolute to fight".[7] Thus, for example, the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, said, "The

7. "Bhagavad Gita", ii. 37.

most practical teaching of the 'Gita', and one for which it is of abiding interest and value to the men of the world with whom life is a series of struggles, is not to give way to any morbid sentimentality when duty demands sternness and the boldness to face terrible things". Whatever may have been the intention, the effect of such teaching upon the impressionable youths of Bengal is conclusively demonstrated by the indifference with which members of the revolutionary party committed the most deadly of all sins, the killing of a Brahman. Basanta Kumar Chatterji was a Brahman; but he was also a successful police officer, and he was murdered without the smallest compunction. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to point out that one, at least, of the essential doctrines of the "Gita" is severely ignored by the self-appointed gurus of the revolutionary organisations, namely, that of caste dharma. Arjuna is exhorted to fight because it is his caste duty to do so, and the most solemn warning is pronounced against the man of one caste arrogating to himself the duties of a member of another caste. It is safe to assert that verses 43 47 of the eighteenth discourse, which define the duty of the great castes and adjure a man to restrict his action accordingly, find no mention in the "Gita" classes of the revolutionaries, nor the 35th verse of the third discourse which declares that the duty of another is full of danger. That such a misconstruction of so universally treasured a scripture should be possible in so religious a country is surprising. It is to be feared that it must be attributed in no small measure to the disappearance of all religious instruction from the schools, due to the assumption of a strict religious neutrality on the part of Government.

The mass of material bearing upon this aspect of the revolutionary movement is so great that one might with ease devote a whole volume to its analysis. To do so, however, would be to alter completely the character and scope of this book, and I shall content myself with a reference to one more piece of revolutionary literature only. This last example is a pamphlet entitled "Bhawani Mandir", which is believed to have been written by Arabinda Ghose, whose fervid writings were steeped in idealism, and who did more than any one to breathe into the sinister spectre of anarchy the vitalising

influence of religion. The author starts by declaring that a temple is to be erected in the Himalayas and consecrated to Bhawani, the Mother. To all the children of the Mother the call is sent forth to help in the sacred work. Who is Bhawani, one naturally inquires? The author proceeds to explain, couching his explanation in the metaphysical language which appeals so strongly to the Indian mind. "In the unending revolutions of the world, as the wheel of the eternal turns mightily in its courses, the Infinite Energy, which streams forth from the External and sets the wheel to work, looms up in the vision of man in various aspects and infinite forms. Each aspect creates and marks an age. ......This Infinite Energy is Bhawani. She also is Durga. She is Kali, She is Radha the beloved, She is Lakshmi. She is our Mother and creatoress of us all. In the present age the Mother is manifested as the mother of Strength."

The lesson that the writer seeks to impart is the need in which his countrymen stand of energy, strength, force. All else they possess—knowledge, love, enthusiasm ; but in the present era these things will avail them nothing unless they have added to them Strength. "The deeper we look, the more we shall be convinced that the one thing wanting which we must strive to acquire before all others is strength—strength physical, strength mental, strength moral, but above all strength spiritual, which is the one inexhaustible and imperishable source of all others."

Next we are given a glimpse of that pride of race which is so resentful of alien domination, and which was so potent a factor in driving those possessed of it to the revolver and the bomb. "India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct, because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India that is reserved the highest and most splendid destiny, the most essential to the future of the human race. It is she who must send forth from herself the future religion of the entire world, the Eternal religion which is to harmonise all religion, science and philosophies, and make mankind one soul......It was to initiate this great work, the greatest and most wonderful work ever given to a race, that Bhagavan Ramkrishna came and

Vivekananda preached." But if she is to fulfil her destiny, she must acquire strength. Now is the time. First, then, a temple must be built to Bhawani, the source of strength. And attached to the temple there must be a new order of karma-yogis, who will renounce all in order to work for the Mother. And the work of the order must be based upon knowledge as upon a rock – the knowledge enshrined in the mighty formula of the Vedanta, the ancient gospel which when vivified by Karma and Bhakti, delivers man out of all fear and all weakness.

And by doing these things what is it that will be achieved? The writer puts the answer into the mouth of Bhawani herself. "You will be helping to create a nation, to consolidate an age, to Aryanise a world. And that nation is your own, that age is the age of yourselves and your children, that world is no fragment of land bounded by seas and hills, but the whole earth with her teeming millions."

Upon the warm and emotional temperament of the young Bengali such appeals had the effect of deep draughts of intoxicating nectar. They were swept off their feet and carried headlong down the road to disaster by an overwhelming surge of religious fervour. The working of the process is well illustrated by a petition which I received from a disillusioned member of one of the Bengal societies early in the year 1919. Incidentally it gives point to the statement made earlier, that the conclusions of the author of "Ananda Math" were not infrequently accepted by members of the revolutionary party who had had leisure for quiet reflection amid surroundings removed from the influence of the societies themselves. After admitting that he had acted in a way prejudicial to the public safety and had therefore been rightly interned, he stated that while in internment, "being able to think calmly and considerately over the true situation...he has his eyes opened, and holds that the overthrow of British rule in India......is neither desirable nor feasible,...and that even if there was any chance of success by such unconstitutional, extreme, nay, unrighteous and outrageous measures (as those of the revolutionary party), India of all countries of the world should

never, with that great mission of hers—the spiritual uplift of the world—take to them". It is clear from the whole tenor of the petition that the author is one of those spiritually-minded persons of whom India provides so many examples, whose whole interest in life is devoted to religion. He tells how he gave up his connection with the revolutionary party before his arrest, "not because he did not support the party's aims and objects, but because, goaded by his soul-inspiration, he devoted his life for the realisation of God, the External Truth". And he explains how his religious aspirations were made use of by the organisers of revolution to enlist him in their ranks. "Curiously enough, your petitioner was led to believe that by the emancipation of India, which of course could only be got, according to the established doctrine, by revolutionary works, the Hindu religion could break its binding fetters and again flourish in its past glories, vivified and brightened a thousand-fold and triumph over the world, and thus bring about the world's spiritual transformation."

This is the tragedy of this melancholy but sinister movement—that it has been so largely sustained by "perverted patriotism and equally perverted religion". The young man convicted of murdering Amrita Lall Roy, the officer in charge of the Sankaritolla post-office in Calcutta, on August the 3rd, 1923, described the man at whose bidding he acted as "a God-fearing man and a man of learning". It is this blind faith of the recruits to the secret societies in the holiness of the organisers of the movement that gives to it so poignant a pathos.

10

A DISTORTED VERSION*

A GENERAL SURVEY

That there is a lull in the storm of unrest which has lately swept over India is happily beyond doubt. Does this lull indicate a gradual and steady return to more normal and peaceful conditions ? Or, as in other cyclonic disturbances in tropical climes, does it merely presage fiercer outbursts yet to come ? Has the blended policy of repression and concession adopted by Lord Morley and Lord Minto really cowed the forces of criminal disorder and rallied the representatives of moderate opinion to the cause of sober and Constitutional progress ? Or has it come too late either permanently to arrest the former or to restore confidence and courage to the latter ?

These are the two questions which the present situation in India most frequently and obviously suggests, but it may be doubted whether they by any means cover the whole field of potential developments. They are based apparently upon the assumption that Indian unrest, even in its most extreme forms, is merely the expression of certain political aspirations towards various degrees of emancipation from British tutelage, ranging from a larger share in the present system of administration to a complete revolution in the existing relations between Great Britain and India, and that, the issues thus raised being essentially political, they can be met by compromise on purely political lines. This assumption ignores, I fear, certain factors of very great importance, social religious, and economic, which

*From Valentine Chirol : *Indian Unrest*, Chapters I, II, III.

profoundly affect, if they do not altogether overshadow, the political problem. The question to which I propose to address myself is whether Indian unrest represents merely, as we are prone to imagine, the human and not unnatural impatience of subject races fretting under an alien rule which, however well intentioned, must often be irksome and must sometimes appear to be harsh and arbitrary; or whether to-day, in its more extreme forms at any rate, it does not represent an irreconcilable reaction against all that not only British rule but Western civilization stands for.

I will not stop at present to discuss how far the lamentable deficiencies of the system of education which we have ourselves introduced into India have contributed to the Indian unrest. That that system has been productive of much good few will deny, but few also can be so blind as to ignore the fact that it tends on the one hand to create a semi-educated proletariate, unemployed and largely unemployable, and on the other hand, even where failure is less complete, to produce dangerous hybrids, more or less superficially imbued with Western ideas, and at the same time more or less completely divorced from the realities of Indian life. Many other circumstances also which have helped the promoters of disaffection I must reserve for subsequent discussion. Some of them are economic, such as the remarkable rise in prices during the last decade. This has seriously enhanced the cost of living in India and has specially affected the very classes amongst whom disaffection is most widespread The clerk, the teacher, the petty Government official, whose exiguous salaries have remained the same, find themselves to-day relatively, and in many cases actually, worse off than the artisan for even the labourer, whose wages have in many cases risen in proportion to the increased cost of living. Plague, which in the course of the last 14 years has carried off over 6,000,000 people, and two terrible visitations of famine have caused in different parts of the country untold misery and consequent bitterness. On the other hand, the growth of commerce and industry and the growing interest taken by all classes in commercial and industrial questions have led to a corresponding resentment of the fiscal restraints placed upon India by the Imperial

Government for the selfish benefit, as it is contended, of the British manufacturer and trader. Much bad blood has undoubtedly been created by the treatment of British Indians in South Africa and the attitude adopted in British Colonies generally towards Asiatic immigrants. The social relations between the two races in India itself—always a problem of infinite difficulty—have certainly not been improved by the large influx of a lower class of Europeans which the development of railways and telegraphs and other industries requiring technical knowledge have brought in their train. Nor can it be denied that the growing pressure of office work as well as the increased facilities of home leave and frequent transfers from one post to another have inevitably to some extent lessened the contact between the Anglo-Indian official and the native population. Of more remote influences which have indirectly reacted upon the Indian mind it may suffice for the present to mention the South African War, which lowered the prestige of our arms, and the Russo-Japanese War, which was regarded as the first blow dealt to the ascendency of Europe over Asia, though it may be worth noting that in his novel, "The Prince of Destiny," Mr. Surat Kumar Ghosh lays repeated emphasis on the impression produced in India some years earlier by the defeat of the Italian forces in Abyssinia. Each of the above points has its own importance and deserves to be closely studied, for upon the way in which we shall in the future handle some of the delicate questions which they raise will largely depend our failure or our success in coping with Indian unrest—that is, in preventing its invasion of other classes than those to which it has been hitherto confined. But the clue to the real spirit which informs Indian unrest must be sought elsewhere.

Two misconceptions appear to prevail very widely at home with regard to the nature of the unrest. The first is that disaffection of a virulent and articulate character is a new phenomenon in India ; the second is that the existing disaffection represents a genuine, if precocious and misdirected, response on the part of the Western educated classes to the democratic ideals of the modern Western world which our system of education has imported into India. It is easy to

account for the prevalence of both these misconceptions. We are a people of notoriously short memory, and when a series of sensational and dastardly crimes, following on a tumultuous agitation in Bengal and a campaign of incredible violence in the native Press, at last aroused and alarmed the British public, the vast majority of Englishmen were under the impression that since the black days of the Mutiny law and order had never been seriously assailed in India, and they therefore rushed to the conclusion that, if the *pax Britannica* had been so rudely and suddenly shaken, the only possible explanation lay in some novel wave of sentiment or some grievous administrative blunder which had abruptly disturbed the harmonious relations between the rulers and the ruled. People had forgotten that disaffection in varying forms and degrees of intensity has existed at all times amongst certain sections of the population, and under the conditions of our rule can hardly be expected to disappear altogether. Whether British statesmanship has always sufficiently reckoned with its existence is another question. More than 30 years ago, for instance, the Government of India had to pass a Bill dealing with the aggressive violence of the vernacular Press on precisely the same grounds that were alleged in support of this year's Press Bill, and with scarcely less justification. whilst just 13 years ago two British officials fell victims at Poona to a murderous conspiracy, prompted by a campaign of criminal virulence in the Press, closely resembling those which have more recently robbed India of many valuable lives.

To imagine that Indian unrest has been a sudden growth because its outward manifestations have assumed new and startling forms of violence is a dangerous delusion ; and no less misleading is the assumption that it is merely the outcome of Western education or the echo of Western democratic aspirations, because it occasionally, and chiefly for purposes of political expediency, adopts the language of Western demagogues. Whatever its modes of expression, its mainspring is a deep-rooted antagonism to all the principles upon which Western society, especially in a democratic country like England, has been built up. It is in that antagonism—in the

increasing violence of that antagonism—which is a conspicuous feature of the unrest, that the gravest danger lies.

But if in this respect the problems with which we are confronted appear to me more serious and complex than official optimism is sometimes disposed to admit, I have no hesitation is saying that there is no cause for despondency if we will only realize how strong our position in India still is, and use our strength wisely and sympathetically, but, at the same time, with firmness and consistency. It is important to note at the outset that the more dangerous forms of unrest are practically confined to the Hindus, and amongst them to a numerically small proportion of the vast Hindu community. Not a single Mahomedan has been implicated in, though some have fallen victims to, the criminal conspiracies of the last few years. Not a single Mahomedan of any account is to be found in the ranks of disaffected politicians. For reasons, in fact, which I shall set forth later on, it many be confidently asserted that never before have the Mahomedans of India as a whole identified their interests and their aspirations so closely as at the present day with the consolidation and permanence of British rule. It is almost a misnomer to speak of Indian unrest. Hindu unrest would be a far more accurate term, connoting with far greater precision the forces underlying it, though to use it without reservation would be to do a grave injustice to the vast numbers of Hindus who are as yet untainted with disaffection. These include almost all the Hindu ruling chiefs and landed aristocracy, as well as the great mass of the agricultural classes which form in all parts of India the overwhelming majority of the population. Very large areas, moreover, are still entirely free from unrest, which, except for a few sporadic out-breaks in other districts, has been hitherto mainly confined to three distinct areas—the Mahratta Deccan, which comprises a great part of the Bombay Presidency and several districts of the Central Provinces, Bengal, with the new province of Eastern Bengal, and the Punjab. In those regions it is the large cities that have been the real hot beds of unrest, and, great as is their influence, it must not be forgotten that in India scarcely one-tenth of the population lives in cities, or even in small townships with more than 5,000 inhabitants.

Whereas in England one-third of the population is gathered together in crowded cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over, there are but twenty-eight cities of that size in the whole of India, with an aggregate population of less than 7,000,000 out of a total of almost 300,000,000.

That a movement confined to a mere fraction of the population of India has no title to be called a "national" movement would scarcely need to be argued, even if the variegated jumble of races and peoples, castes and creeds that make up the population of India were not in itself an antithesis to all that the word "national" implies. Nevertheless it would be equally foolish to underrate the forces which underlie this movement, for they have one common *nexus*, and a very vital one. They are the dominant forces of Hinduism—forces which go to the very root of a social and religious system than which none in the history of the human race has shown greater vitality and stability. Based upon caste, the most rigid of all social classifications, Hinduism has secured for some 3,000 years or more to the higher castes, and especially to the Brahmans, the highest of all castes, a social supremacy for which there is no parallel elsewhere. At the same time, inflexibly as they have dominated Hinduism, these higher castes have themselves preserved a flexibility of mind and temper which has enabled them to adapt themselves with singular success to the vicissitudes of changing times without any substantial sacrifice of their inherited traditions and aspirations. Thus it is amongst high-caste Hindus that for the last three-quarters of a century English education has chiefly spread, and, indeed, been most eagerly welcomed ; it is amongst them that British administration has recruited the great majority of its native servants in every branch of the public service ; it is amongst them also that are chiefly recruited the liberal professions, the Press, the schoolmasters—in fact all those agencies through which public opinion and the mind of the rising generation are most easily moulded and directed. That it is amongst them also that the spirit of revolt against British ascendency is chiefly and almost exclusively rife constitutes the most ominous feature of Indian unrest.

SWARAJ OF THE PLATFORM AND IN THE PRESS

Before proceeding to describe the methods by which Indian unrest has been fomented, and to study as far as possible its psychology, it may be well to set forth succinctly the political purpose to which it is directed, as far as there is any unity of direction. One of the chief difficulties one encounters in attempting to define its aims is the vagueness that generally characterizes the pronouncements of Indian politicians. There is, indeed, one section that makes no disguise either of its aspirations or of the way in which it proposes to secure their fulfilment. Its doctrines are frankly revolutionary, and it openly preaches propaganda by deed—*i e*, by armed revolt, if and when it becomes practicable, and, in the meantime, by assassination, dynamite outrages, dacoities, and all the other methods of terrorism dear to anarchists all over the world. But that section is not very numerous, nor would it in itself be very dangerous, if it did not exercise so fatal a fascination upon the immature mind of youth The real difficulty begins when one comes to that much larger section of "advanced" politicians who are scarcely less bitterly opposed to the maintenance of British rule, but, either from prudential motives or lest they should prematurely alarm and alienate the representatives of what is called "moderate" opinion, shrink from the violent assertion of India's claim to complete political independence and, whilst helping to create the atmosphere that breeds outrages, profess to deprecate them.

The difficulty is further enhanced by the reluctance of many of the "moderates" to break with their "advanced" friends by proclaiming, once and for all, their own conviction that within no measurable time can India in her own interests afford to forgo the guarantees of internal peace and order and external security which the British *Raj* alone can afford. Hence the desire on both sides to find some common denominator in a nebulous formula which each can interpret as to time and manner according to its own desires and aims. That formula seems to have been discovered in the term *Swaraj*, or self-rule,

which, when euphemistically translated into Colonial self-government for India, offers the additional advantage of presenting the political aspirations of Indian "Nationalism" in the form least likely to alarm Englishmen, especially those who do not care or wish to look below the surface and whose sympathies are readily won by any catchword that appeals to sentimental Liberalism. Now if *Swaraj*, or Colonial self-government, represents the *minimum* that will satisfy Indian Nationalists, it is important to know exactly what in their view it really means. Fortunately on this point we have some *data* of indisputable authority. They are furnished in the speeches of an "advanced" leader, who does not rank amongst the revolutionary extremists, though his refusal to give evidence in the trial of a seditious newspaper with which he had been connected brought him in 1907 within the scope of the Indian Criminal Code. Mr. Bepin Chandra pal, a high-caste Hindu and a man of great intellectual force and high character, has not only received a Western education, but has travelled a great deal in Europe and in America, and is almost as much at home in London as in Calcutta. A little more than three years ago he delivered in Madras a series of lectures on the "New Spirit," which have been republished in many editions and may be regarded as the most authoritative programme of "advanced" political thought in India. What adds greatly to the significance of those speeches is that Mr. Pal borrowed their keynote from the Presidential address delivered in the preceding year by the veteran leader of the "moderates," Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, at the annual Session of the Indian National Congress. The rights of India, Mr. Naoroji had said, "can be comprised in one word—self-government or *Swaraj*, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." It was reserved for Mr. Pal to define precisely how such *Swaraj* could be peacefully obtained and what it must ultimately lead to. He began by brushing away the notion that any political concessions compatible with the present dependency of India upon Great Britain could help India to *Swaraj*. I will quote his own words, which already foreshadowed the contemptuous reception given by "advanced" politicians to the reforms embodied in last year's Indian Councils Act :

"You may get a High Court judgeship here, mem bership of the Legislative Council there, possibly an Executive Membership of the Council. Or do you want an expansion of the Legislative Councils ? Do you want that a few Indians shall sit as your representatives in the House of Commons ? Do you want a large number of Indians in the Civil Service ? Let us see whether 50, 100, 200, or 300 civilians will make the Government our own.... The whole Civil Service might be Indian, but the Civil servants have to carry out orders—they cannot direct, they cannot dictate the policy. One swallow does not make the summer. One civilian 100 or 1,000 civilians in the service of the British Government will not make that Government Indian. There are traditions, there are laws, there are policies to which every civilian. Be he black or brown or white, must submit, and as long as these traditions have not been altered, as long as these principles have not been amended, as long as that policy has not been radically changed, the supplanting of European by Indian agency will not make for self-government in this country."

Nor is it from the British Government that Mr. Pal looks for, or would accept, *Swaraj* :

If the Government were to come and tell me to-day "Take *Swaraj*," I would say thank you for the gift, but I will not have that which I cannot acquire by my own hand.... Our programme is that we shall so work in the country, so combine the resources of the people, so organize the forces of the nation, so develop the instincts of freedom in the community, that by this means we shall—*shall* in the imperative—compel the submission to our will of any power that may set itself against us.

Equally definite is Mr. Pal as to the methods by which *Swaraj* is to be made "imperative." They consist of *Swadeshi* in the economic domain, *i.e*, the encouragement of native industries reinforced by the boycott of imported goods which will kill British commerce and, in the political domain, passive resistance reinforced by the boycott of Government service.

"They say: Can you boycott all the Government offices? Whoever said that we would? Whoever said that there would not be found a single Indian to serve the Government or the European community here? But what we can do is this. We can make the Government impossible without entirely making it impossible for them to find people to serve them The administration may be made impossible in a variety of ways. It is not actually that every deputy magistrate should say: I won't serve in it. It is not that when one man resigns nobody will be found to take his place. But if you create this spirit in the country the Government service will gradually imbibe this spirit, and a whole office may go on strike. That does not put an end to the administration, but it creates endless complications in the work of administration, and if these complications are created in every part of the country, the administration will have been brought to a deadlock and made none the less impossible, for the primary thing is the prestige of the Government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige.... We can reduce every Indian in Government service to the position of a man who has fallen from the dignity of Indian citizenship. ...No man shall receive social honours because he is a Hakim or a Munsiff or a Huzur Sheristadar.... No law can compel one to give a chair to a man who comes to his house. He may give it to an ordinary shopkeeper; he may refuse it to the Deputy Magistrate or the Subordinate Judge. He may give his daughter in marriage to a poor beggar, he may refuse her to the son of a Deputy Magistrate, because it is absolutely within his rights, absolutely within legal bounds.

"Passive resistance is recognized as legitimate in England. It is legitimate in theory even in India, and if it is made illegal by new legislation, these laws will infringe on the primary rights of personal freedom and will tread on dangerous ground. Therefore it seems to me that by means of the boycott we shall be able to do the negative work that will have to be done for the attainment of *Swaraj*. Positive work will have to be done. Without positive training no self-government will come to the boycotter. It will (come) through the organization of our village life; of our talukas and districts. Let our programme include the setting up of machinery for popular administration,

and running parallel to, but independent of, the existing administration of the Government.... In the Providence of God we shall then be made rulers over many things. This is our programme."

But Mr. Pal himself admits that even if this programme can be fulfilled, this *Swaraj* this absolute self-rule which he asks for, is fundamentally incompatible with the maintenance of the British connexion.

"Is really self-government within the Empire a practicable ideal ? What would it mean ? It would mean either no real self-government for us or no real overlordship for England. Would we be satisfied with the shadow of self-government ? If not, would England be satisfied with the shadow of overlordship ? In either case England would not be satisfied with a shadowy overlordship, and we refuse to be satisfied with a shadowy self-government. And therefore no compromise is possible under such conditions between self-government in India and the overlordship of England. If self-government is conceded to us, what would be England's position not only in India, but in the British Empire itself ? Self-government means the right of self-taxation ; it means the right of financial control ; it means the right of the people to impose protective and prohibitive tariffs on foreign imports. The moment we have the right of self-taxation, what shall we do ? We shall not try to be engaged in this uphill work of industrial boycott. But we shall do what every nation has done. Under the circumstances in which we live now, we shall impose a heavy prohibitive protective tariff upon every inch of textile fabric from Manchester, upon every blade of knife that comes from Leeds. We shall refuse to grant admittance to a British soul into our territory. We would not allow British capital to be engaged in the development of Indian resources, as it is now engaged We would not grant any right to British capitalists to dig up the mineral wealth of the land and carry it to their own isles. We shall want foreign capital. But we shall apply for foreign loans in the open market of the whole world, guaranteeing the credit of the Indian Government the Indian nation, for the repayment of the loan, just as America has done and is doing just

as Russia is doing now, just as Japan has been doing of late. And England's commercial interests would not be furthered in the way these are being furthered now, under the conditions of popular self-government, though it might be within the Empire. But what would it mean within the Empire? It would mean that England would have to enter into some arrangement with us for some preferential tariff. England would have to come to our markets on the conditions that we would impose upon her for the purpose if she wanted an open door in India, and after a while, when we have developed our resources a little and organized our industrial life, we would want the open door not only to England, but to every part of the British Empire. And do you think it is possible for a small country like England with a handful of population, although she might be enormously wealthy, to compete on fair and equitable terms with a mighty continent like India, with immense natural resources, with her teeming populations, the soberest and most abstemious populations known to any part of the world?

"If we have really self-government within the Empire, if we have the rights of freedom of the Empire as Australia has, as Canada has, as England has to-day, if we, 300 millions of people, have that freedom of the Empire, the Empire would cease to be British. It would be the Indian Empire, and the alliance between England and India would be absolutely an unequal alliance. That would be, if we had really self-government within the Empire, exactly the relation as co-partners in a co-British or anti-British Empire of the future; and if the day comes when England will be reduced to the alternative of having us as an absolutely independent people or a co-partner with her in the Empire, she would prefer to have us, like the Japanese, as an ally and no longer a co-partner, because we are bound to be the predominant partner in this Imperial firm. Therefore, no sane Englishman, politician or publicist can ever contemplate seriously the possibility of a self-governing India, like the self-governing colonies, forming a vital and organic part of the British Empire. Therefore it is that Lord Morley says that so long as India remains under the control of Great Britain, the government of India must continue to be a personal and absolute one. Therefore it seems to me that this ideal, the

practically attainable ideal of self-government within the Empire, when we analyse it with care, when we study it in the light of common human psychology, when we study it in the light of our past experience of the racial characteristics of the British people, when we study it in the light of past British history in India and other parts of the world, when we study and analyse this ideal of self-government within the Empire, we find it is a far more impracticable thing to attain than even our ideal *Swaraj*."

I have quoted Mr. Pal's utterances at some length, because they are the fullest and the most frank exposition available of what lies beneath the claim to Colonial self-government as it is understood by "advanced" politicians. No one can deny the merciless logic with which he analyses the inevitable results of *Swaraj*, and Englishmen may well be grateful to him for having disclosed them so fearlessly. British sympathizers who are reluctant to look behind a formula which commends itself to their peculiar predilections, naturally dislike any reference to Mr. Pal's interpretation of Indian "self government," and would even impugn his character in order the better to question his authority. But they cannot get over the fact that in India, very few "moderate" politicians have had the courage openly to depudiate his programme, though many of them realize its dangers, whilst the "extremists" want a much shorter cut to the same goal. It is only by pledging itself to *Swaraj* that the Indian National Congress has been able to maintain a semblance of unity.

Moreover, if any doubt still lingers as to the inner meaning of *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi*, and other kindred war-cries of Indian Nationalism, the language of the Nationalist Press remains on record to complete our enlightenment. However incompatible with the maintenance of British rule may be the propositions set forth by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, they contain no incitement to violence, no virulent diatribes against Englishmen. It is in the Press rather than on the platform that Indian politicians, whether "extreme" or merely "advanced," are apt to let themselves go. They write down to the level of their larger

audiences. So little has hitherto been done to enlighten public opinion at home as to the gravity of the evil which the recent Indian Press law has at last, though very tardily, done something to repress that many Englishmen are still apparently disposed to regard that measure as an oppressive, or at least dubious, concession to bureaucratic impatience of criticism none the less healthy for being sometimes excessive. The following quotations, taken from vernacular papers before the new Press law was enacted, will serve to show what Lord Morley meant when he said, "You may put picric acid in the ink and the pen just as much as in any steel bomb," and again, "It is said that these incendiary articles are 'mere froth.' Yes, they are froth, but froth stained with bloodshed." Even when they contain no definite incitement to murder, no direct exhortation to revolt, they will show how systematically, how persistently the wells of Indian public opinion have been poisoned for years past by those who claim to represent the intelligence and enlightenment of modern India. Only too graphically also do they illustrate one of the most unpleasantly characteristics features of the literature of Indian unrest – namely, its insidious appeals to the Hindu Scriptures and the Hindu deities, and its deliberate vilification of everything English. Calumny and abuse, combined with a wealth of sacred imagery, supply the place of any serious process of reasoning such as displayed in Mr. Pal's programme with all its uncompromising hostility.

In the first place, a few specimens of the hatred which animates the champions of *Swaraj*—of Indian independence or, at least, of Colonial self-government. The *Hind Swarajya* is nothing if not plain-spoken :

"Englishmen ! Who are Englishmen ? They are the present rulers of this country. But how did they become our rulers ? By throwing the noose of dependence round our necks, by making us forget our old learning, by leading us along the path of sin, by keeping us ignorant of the use of arms.... Oh ! my simple countrymen ! By their teaching adultery has entered our homes, and women have begun to be led astray.... Alas ! Has India's golden land lost all her heroes ? Are all eunuchs, timid and afraid, forgetful of their duty, preferring to die a slow death

of torture, silent witnesses of the ruin of their country ? Oh ! Indians, descended from a race of heroes ! Why are you afraid of Englishmen ? They are not gods, but men like yourselves, or, rather, monsters who have ravished your Sita-like beauty. Sita, the spouse of Rama, was abducted by the demon Ravana, and recovered with the help of the Monkey God Hanuman and his army of monkeys. If there be any Rama amongst you, let him go forth to bring back your Sita. Raise the banner of Swadesh, crying Victory to the Mother ! Rescue the truth and accomplish the good of India."

The Calcutta *Yugantar* argues that "sedition has no meaning from the Indian standpoint.

"If the whole nation is inspired to throw off its yoke and become independent, then in the eye of God and the eye of justice whose claim is more reasonable, the Indian's or the Englishman's ? The Indian has come to see that independence is the panacea for all his evils. He will therefore even swim in a sea of blood to reach his goal. The British dominion over India is a gross myth. It is because the Indian holds this myth in his bosom that his sufferings are so great to-day. Long ago the Indian Rishis [inspired sages] preached the destruction of falsehood and the triumph of truth. And this foreign rule based on injustice is a gross falsehood. It must be subverted and true *Swadeshi* rule established. May truth be victorious ! '

The *Gujarat* hails the Hindu New Year which is coming "to take away the curse of the foreigners" :

"Oh noble land of the Aryas, thou who wert so great art like a caged bird. Are thy powerful sons, Truth and Love, dead ? Has thy daughter Lakshmi plunged into a sea ? or art thou overwhelmed with grief because rogues and demons have plundered thee ? ' ["Demons" is the term usually affected by Nationalist journalists when they refer to Englishmen.]

The *Shakti* declares that :

"By whatever names—anarchists, extremists, or seditionists —those may be called who are taking part in the movement for

independence, whatever efforts may be made to humiliate and to crush them, however many patriots may be sent to jail, or into exile, yet the spirit pervading the whole atmosphere will never be checked, for the spirit is so strong and spontaneous that it must clearly be directed by Divine Providence."

The following appears in the *Kal* (Poona) :

"We Aryans are no sheep. We have our own country, our religion, our heroes, our statesmen, our soldiers. We do not owe them to contact with the English. These things are not new to us. When the ancestors of those who boast to-day of their enterprise and their civilization were in a disgusting state of barbarism, or rather centuries before then, we were in full possession of all the ennobling qualities of head and heart. This holy and hoary land of ours will surely regain her position and be once more by her intrinsic lustre the home of wealth, arts, and peace. A holy inspiration is spreading, that people must sacrifice their lives in the cause of what has once been determined to be their duty. Heroes are springing up in our midst, though brutal imprisonment reduce them to skeletons. Let us devote ourselves to the service of the Mother. A man maddened by devotion will do everything and anything to achieve his ideal. His strength will be adamantine. Just as a widow immolates herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, let us die for the Mother."

The *Dharma* (Calcutta) emphasizes specially the religious side of the movement :

"We are engaged in preaching religion and we are putting our energy into this agitation, looking on it as the principal part of our religion.... The present agitation, in its inital stages, had a strong leaven of the spirit of Western politics in it, but at present a clear consciousness of Aryan greatness and a strong love and reverential spirit towards the Motherland have transformed it into a shape in which the religious element predominates. Politics is part of religion, but it has to be cultivated in an Aryan way, in accordance with the precepts of Aryan religion."

Nowhere is the cult of the "terrible goddess," worshipped under many forms, but chiefly under those of Kali and Durga, more closely associated with Indian unrest than in Bengal. Hence the frequency of the appeals to her in the Bengal Press. The *Dacca Gazette* welcomes the festival of Durga with the following outburst :

"Indian brothers ! There is no more time for lying asleep. Behold, the Mother is coming. Oh Mother, the giver of all good ! Turn your eyes upon your degraded children. Mother, they are now stricken with disease and sorrow. Oh Shyama, the reliever of the three kinds of human afflictions, relieve our sorrows. Come Mother, the destroyer of the demons, and appear at the gates of Bengal "

The Barisal *Hitaishi* refers also to the Durga festival, in which the weird and often horrible and obscene rites of *Shakti* worship not infrequently play a conspicuous part :

"What have we learnt from the *Shakti Puja* ? Sooner or later this great *Puja* will yield the desired results. When the Hindus realize the true magnificence of the worship of the Mother, they will be roused from the slumber of ages, and the auspicious dawn of awakenment will light up the horizon. You must acquire great power from the worship of the Mother. Ganesh, the god who grants success, has his seat assigned to him on the left of he great Mother. Why should you despair of obtaining success ? Look at Kartiki, the god who is the chief commander of the armies of the gods, who has stationed himself to the right of the Mother ; he is coming forward with his bow, to assist you against the demons of sin, who stand in the way of your accomplishing that great object, and as he is up in arms, who can resist ?"

The *Khulnavasi* breaks out into poetry :

"For what sins, O Mother Durga, are thy sons thus dispirited and their hearts crushed with injustice ? The demons are in the ascendant, and constantly triumphing over godliness. Awake, Oh Mother, who tramplest on the demons ! Thy help-

less sons, lean for want of food, worn out in the struggle with the demons, are struck with terror at the way in which they are being ruled. Famine and plague and disease are rife, and unrighteousness triumphs. Awake, Oh Goddess Durga! I see the lightning flashing from the point of thy bow, the world quaking at thy frowns, and creation trembling under thy tread. Let a river of blood flow, overwhelming the hearts of the demons."

The *Kalyani* chides the Hindus for breaking their *Swadeshi* vows to Durga :

"You have made all sorts of vows to stick to Swadeshi, but you are still using *bilati* [foreign] salt, sugar, and cloths which are polluted with the blood and fat of animals. You swear by the Mother, and then you go and disobey her and defile her temples. Do you know that it is owing to your sins that Mother Durga has not come to accept your worship in Bengal this year? In fact, she is heaving deep sighs of sorrow—sighs which will bring a cataclysmic storm upon you. If you still care to save your country from utter ruin, mend your ways and keep your promises to the Mother."

In other provinces where other deities are more popular it is they who are similarly called in aid The *Bedari* of Lahore, for instance, reproduces from the Puranas the story of the tyrant Rajah Harnakath, who brought death on himself at the hands of Vishnu for attempting to kill his son Prahlad, whose offence was that he believed in God and championed the cause of justice, in order to liken British statesmen and Anglo-Indian officials to the wicked Rajah and the Indians to Prahlad. As most British statesmen and their representatives abroad are the enemies of liberty and justice and support slavery and oppression, the fall of Great Britain is near at hand, and India will then pass into the possession of her own sons.

The *Prem* of Firozpur is inclined even to give Mr. Keir Hardie a niche in the Hindu Pantheon. Its editor dreamt he was at a meeting in a free and contented country. It was attended by some other Indians, and one of them recited verses

bewailing the condition of India, which was once a heaven on earth and was now converted into a hell by its foreign rulers, and c. After prayers had been recited for India, some heavenly beings appeared one of whom swore to do his best to relieve the sufferings of Indians. The editor learnt on inquiry that the dream country was England, the Indian speaker Bepin Chandra Pal, and the heavenly being Mr. Keir Hardie !

The *Sahaik*, of Lahore furnishes an apt illustration of the scurrilous abuse and calumny which constitute one of the favourite weapons of Hindu writers. Referring to the Malaria Conference held last year, it begins by remarking that when a famine occurs :

"Relief works are opened only when the sufferings of the famine-stricken become acute, and their supervision is entrusted to a fat-salaried Englishman who swallows up half the collections, which amount could have fed hundreds of the poor people. Thus also with the forthcoming inquiries concerning malarial fever, which is spreading all over the country. Every Indian knows that, like the plague, this form of fever is due to the poverty and consequent physical weakness of the people. It is, however, to the mosquito that the authorities went for the causes of the disease, just as to the rats for the causes of plague. Different medicines and instruments were invented for extirpating the insect, doctors were also employed, and rewards paid for the writing of books. In this way crores of rupees went into the pockets of English shopkeepers and others. A trial is now being given to quinine and lakhs-worth sold to Indians, English quinine manufacturers being thus enriched. Again a commission is about to sit on the heights of Simla. The commissioners will enjoy feasts and dances and drink brandy which will cost poor natives lakhs of rupees, and afterwards they will devise means to develop the trade in quinine or other drugs."

The Ranjpur *Vartabaha* writes that in the local charitable dispensary a surgical operation was performed on a patient who died in two hours, and that a similar operation on a

pregnant woman resulted in her death. It adds, with delicate sarcasm, that "the Chief Medical Officer should get his salary increased." The idea that Englishmen deliberately want to depopulate India is one that is sedulously propagated. Thus the *Jhang Sial* jeers at British "generosity," which has "converted India, one of the richest countries in the world, into the land of the starving," and British "wisdom" for wishing to "starve out the natives and reign over empty brick and mortar buildings."

The *Akash* (Delhi), referring to the pension granted to the widow of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie, asks whether "the English can hold up their heads after this. Even their widows are fed by India A nation whose widows are fed by another should never boast that it is an Imperial and self-respecting nation."

In the same spirit another Punjab paper argues ironically from the speech of a Mahomedan member of the Punjab Legislative Council in condemnation of Dhingra that "all the white-skinned Europeans, including the English rulers of India, must be the lowest born people in the world, seeing that they are in the habit of killing natives every day."

No public servants who venture to discharge their duty loyally fare worse at the hands of the Nationalist Press than Judges—especially if they are Indians. Mr. Justice Davar was the Parsee Judge who sentenced Tilak. The *Kesari* declared that "he had already settled the sentence in his own mind after a careful consideration of external circumstances," and "had made himself the laughing-stock of the whole world, like the meddlesome monkey in the fable who came to grief in trying to pull out the peg from a half-sawed beam." Now the *Kesari* was Tilak's own paper, and he was convicted on two seditious articles that had appeared in its columns, but the *Kal*, another Poona sheet, also maintained that everything was done on a prearranged plan. "There is no sense in saying that Mr. Tilak was sentenced according to law. There was mockery of justice, not justice." It added that "if the Hindus are to suppose Mr. Tilak guilty because an English Court of Justice had condemned him, Christians will have to forswear Christ because he was

crucified by a Roman Court." The *Karnatak Vaibhav* recalled the story of the notorious washerman who, by scandalizing Rama, had been immortalized in the Ramayana. In the same way the names of Strachey—who sentenced Tilak at his first trial in 1897—and Davar would be remembered as long as history endured.

Quotations could be multiplied *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam* from the same papers—I have given only one from each—and from scores of others. These will suffice to show what the freedom of the Press stood for in India, in a country where there is an almost superstitious reverence for, and faith in, the printed word, where the influence of the Press is in proportion to the ignorance of the vast majority of its readers, and where, unfortunately, the more violent and scurrilous a newspaper becomes, the more its popularity grows among the very classes that boast of their education. They are by no means obscure papers, and some of them, such as the *Kal*, the *Hind Swarajya*, and especially the *Yugantar*, which became at one time a real power in Bengal, achieved a circulation hitherto unknown to the Indian Press. Can any Englishman, however fervent his faith in liberty, regret that some at least of these papers have now disappeared either as the result of prosecutions under the Indian Criminal Code or from the operation of the new Press Law ? The mischief they have done still lives and will not be easily eradicated. It is the fashion in certain quarters to reply : "But look at the Anglo-Indian newspapers, at the aggressive and contemptuous tone they assume towards the natives of India, at the encouragement they constantly give to racial hatred." Though I am not concerned to deny that, in the columns of a few English organs, there may be occasional lapses from good taste and right feeling, such sweeping charges against the Anglo-Indian Press as a whole are absolutely grotesque, and its most malevolent critics would be at a loss to quote anything, however remotely, resembling the exhortations to hatred and violence which have been the stock-in-trade not only of the most popular newspapers in the vernaculars, but of some even of the leading newspapers published in English, but edited and owned by Indians.

Even such extracts as I have given above from vernacular newspapers do not by any means represent the lengths to which Indian "extremism" can go. They represent merely the literature of unrest which has been openly circulated in India. There is another and still more poisonous form which is smuggled into India from abroad and surreptitiously circulated.

A HINDU REVIVAL

Thirty years ago, when I first visited India, the young Western-educated Hindu was apt to be, at least intellectually, *plus royaliste que le roi.* He plucked with both hands at the fruits of the tree of Western knowledge. Some were enthusiastic students of English literature, and especially of English poetry. They had their Wordsworth and their Browning Societies. Others steeped themselves in English history and loved to draw their political inspiration from Milton and Burke and John Stuart Mill. Others, again, were the humble disciples of Kant and Schlegel, of Herbert Spencer and Darwin. But whatever their special bent might be, the vast majority professed allegiance to Western ideals, and if they had not altogether—and often far too hastily—adjured, or learned secretly to despise, the beliefs and customs of their forefathers, they were at any rate anxious to modify and bring them into harmony with those of their Western teachers. They may often have disliked the Englishman, but they respected and admired him ; if they resented his frequent assumption of unqualified superiority, they were disposed to admit that it was not without justification. The enthusiasm kindled in the first half of the last century by the great missionaries, like Carey and Duff, who had made distinguished converts among the highest classes of Hindu society, had begun to wane ; but if educated Hindus had grown more reluctant to accept the dogmas of Christianity, they were still ready to acknowledge the superiority of Western ethics, and the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay, the Social Reform movement which found eloquent advocates all over India, and not least in Madras, and other agencies of a similar character for purging Hindu life of its more barbarous and superstitious associations, bore witness to the ascendancy which Western

standards of morality exercised over the Hindu mind. Keshub Chunder Sen was not perhaps cast in so fine a mould as Ram Mohan Roy or the more conservative Dr. Tagore, but his ideals were the same, and his life-dream was to find a common denominator for Hinduism and Christianity which should secure a thorough reform of Hindu society without denationalizing it.

Nor were the milder forms of political activity promoted by the founders of the Indian National Congress inconsistent with the acceptance of British rule or with the recognition of the great benefits which it has conferred upon India, and least of all with a genuine admiration for Western civilisation. For many of them at least the political boons which they craved from their rulers were merely the logical corollaries of the moral and intellectual as well as of the material boons which they had already received. The fierce political agitation of later years denies the benefits of British rule and even the superiority of the civilization for which it stands. It has invented the legend of a golden age, when all the virtues flourished and India was a land flowing with milk and honey until British lust of conquest brought it to ruin. No doubt even to-day there are many eminent Hindus who would still rely upon the older methods, and who have sufficiently assimilated the education they have received at the hands of Englishmen to share whole-heartedly the faith and pride of the latter in British ideals of liberty and self-government, and to be honestly convinced that those ideals might be more fully realized in the government of their own country if British administrators would only repose greater confidence in the natives of India and give them a larger share in the conduct of public affairs. But men of this type are now to be found chiefly amongst the older generation.

No one who has studied, however scantily, the social and religious system which for the sake of convenience we call Hinduism will deny the loftiness of the philosophic conceptions which underlie even the extravagances of its creed or the marvellous stability of the complex fabric based upon its social code. It may seem to us to present in many of its aspects an almost

unthinkable combination of spiritualistic idealism and of gross materialism, of asceticism and of sensuousness, of over-weening arrogance when it identifies the human self with the universal self and merges man in the Divinity and the Divinity in man, and of demoralizing pessimism when it preaches that life itself is but a painful illusion, and that the sovereign remedy and end of all evils is non-existence. Its mythology is often as revolting as the rigidity of its caste laws, which condemn millions of human being to such social abasement that their very touch—the very shadow thrown by their body—is held to pollute the privileged mortals who are born into the higher castes. Nevertheless, Hinduism has for more than thirty centuries responded to the social and religious aspirations of a considerable fraction of the human race. It represents a great and ancient civilization, and that the Hindus should cling to it is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that after the first attraction exerted by the impact of an alien civilization equipped with all the panoply of organized force and scientific achievements had worn off, a certain reaction should have ensued. In the same way it was inevitable that, after the novelty of British rule, of the law and order and security for life and property which it had established, had gradually worn away, those who had never experienced the evils from which it had freed India should begin to chafe under the restraints which it imposed. What is disheartening and alarming are the lengths to which this reaction has been carried. For among the younger generation of Hindus there has unquestionably grown up a deep-seated and bitter hostility not only to British rule and to British methods of administration, but to all the influences of Western civilization, and the rehabilitation of Hindu customs and beliefs has proceeded *pari passu* with the growth of political disaffection.

Practices which an educated Hindu would have been at pains to explain away, if he had not frankly repudiated them thirty years ago, now find zealous apologists. Polytheism is not merely extolled as the poetic expression of eternal verities, but the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are being invested with fresh sanctity. The Brahmo Samaj is still a great influence for good, but it appears to be gradually losing

vitality, and though its literary output is still considerable, its membership is shrinking. The Prarthana Samaj is moribund. The fashion of the day is for religious "revivals," in which the worship of Kali, the sanguinary goddess of destruction, or the cult of Shivaji Maharaj, the Mahratta chieftain who humbled in his day the pride of the alien conquerors of Hindustan, plays an appropriately conspicuous part. The Arya-Samaj, which is spreading all over the Punjab and in the United Provinces, represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally a revolt against Western ideals, for in the teachings of its founder, Dayanand, it has found an aggressive gospel which bases the claims of Aryan, *i.e.*, Hindu, supremacy on the Vedas as the one ultimate source of human and Divine wisdom. The exalted character of Vedantic philosophy has been as widely recognized among European students as the subtle beauty of many of the Upanishads, in which the cryptic teachings of the Vedas have been developed along different and often conflicting lines of thought to suit the eclecticism of the Hindu mind. But the Arya Samaj has not been content to assert the ethical perfection of the Vedas. In its zeal to proclaim the immanent superiority of Aryan civilization—it repudiates the term Hindu as savouring of an alien origin—over Western civilization, it claims to have discovered in the Vedas the germs of all the discoveries of modern science, even to wireless telegraphy and aeroplanes.

Just as the political agitation in India has derived invaluable encouragement from a handful or British members of Parliament and other sympathizers in Europe and America, so this Hindu revival has been largely stimulated and to some extent prompted by Europeans and Americans. Not only the writings of English and German scholars, like Max Muller and Deutsch, helped enormously to revive the interest of educated Hindus in their ancient literature and earlier forms of religion, but it was in the polemical tracts of European writers that the first protagonists of Hindu reaction against Christian influences found their readiest weapons of attack. The campaign was started in 1887 by the Hindu Tract Society of Madras, which set itself first to inflame popular fanaticism against the missionaries,

who, especially in the south of India, had been the pioneers of Western education. Bradlaugh's text-books and the pamphlets of many lesser writers belonging to the same school of thought were eagerly translated into the vernacular, and those that achieved the greatest popularity were books like "The Evil of Continence," in which not only Christian theology, but Christian morality was held up to scorn and ridicule. The advent of the theosophists, heralded by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, gave a fresh impetus to the revival, and certainly no Hindu has done so much to organize and consolidate the movement as Mrs. Annie Besant, who, in her Central Hindu College at Benares and her Theosophical Institution at Adyar, near Madras, has openly proclaimed her faith in the superiority of the whole Hindu system to the vaunted civilization of the West. Is it surprising that Hindus should turn their backs upon our civilization when a European of highly-trained intellectual power and with an extraordinary gift of eloquence comes and tells them that it is they who possess and have from all times possessed the key to supreme wisdom ; that their gods, their philosophy, their morality are on a higher plane of thought than the West has ever reached ? Is it surprising that with such encouragement Hinduism should no longer remain on the defensive, but, discarding in this respect all its own traditions as a non-proselytizing creed, should send out missionaries to preach the message of Hindu enlightenment to those still groping in the darkness of the West ? The mission of Swami Vivekananda to the Chicago Congress of Religions is in itself one of the most striking incidents in the history in Hindu revivalism, but it is perhaps less wonderful than the triumph he achieved when he returned to India accompanied by a chosen band of eager disciples from the West.

There are, indeed, endless forms to this revival of Hinduism—as endless as to Hinduism itself—but what it is perhaps most important for us to note is that wherever political agitation assumes the most virulent character, there the Hindu revival also assumes the most extravagant shapes. Secret societies place their murderous activities under the special patronage of one or other of the chief popular deities Their vows are taken "on the sacred water of the Ganges" or "hold-

ing the sacred Tulsi plant," or "in the presence of Mahadevi" —the great goddess who delights in bloody sacrifices. Charms and amulets, incantations and imprecations, play an important part in the ceremonies of initiations. In some quarters there has been some recrudescence of the *Shakti* cults, with its often absence and horrible rites, and the unnatural depravity which was so marked a feature in the case of the band of young Brahmans who conspired to murder Mr. Jackson at Nasik represents a form of erotomania which is certainly much more common amongst Hindu political fanatics than amongst Hindus in general.

By no means all, however, are of this degenerate type, and the *Bhagvat Gita* has been impressed into the service of sedition by men who would have been as incapable of dabbling in political as in any other form of crime, had they not been able to invest it with a religious sanction. There is no more beautiful book in the sacred literature of the Hindus ; there is none in which the more enlightened find greater spiritual comfort ; yet it is in the *Bhagvat Gita* that, by a strange perversion, the Hindu conspirator has sought and claims to have found texts that justify murder as a divinely inspired deed when it is committed in the sacred cause of Hinduism. Nor is it only the extremists who appeal in this fashion to Hindu religious emotionalism. It is often just as difficult to appraise the subtle differences which separate the "moderate" from the "advanced" politician from the extremist as it is to distinguish between the various forms and gradations of the Hindurevival in its religious and social aspects. But it was in the courtyard of the great temple of Kali at Calcutta in the presence of "the terrible goddess" that the leaders of the Bengali nation," men who, like Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, have always professed to be "moderates" held their chief demonstrations against "partition" and administered the *Swadeshi* oath to their followers. Equally praise worthy is the part played by the revival of Ganpati celebrations in honour of Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, perhaps the most popular of all Hindu deities, in stimulating political disaffection in the Deccan.

Hand in hand with this campaign or the glorification of Hinduism at the expense of Western civilization there has been

carried on another and far more invidious campaign for the vilification of everything British. The individual Englishman is denounced as a bloodsucker and a tyrant; his personal integrity is impugned and derided: his methods of administration are alleged to be wilfully directed to the impoverishment, and even to the depopulation, of India; his social customs are traduced as depraved and corrupt; even his women-folk are accused of common wantonness. This systematized form of personal calumny is a scarcely less significant feature of the literature of Indian unrest than its appeals to the Hindu scriptures and to the Hindu deities and its exploitation of the religious sentiment for the promotion of racial hatred. *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* are the battle-cries of this new Hindu "nationalism," but they mean far more than a mere claim to fiscal or even political independence. They mean an organized uplifting of the old Hindu traditions, social and religious, intellectual and moral, against the imported ideals of an alien race and an alien civilization, and the sincerity of some, at least, of the apostles of this new creed cannot be questioned. With Mr. Arabindo Ghose, they firmly believe that "the whole moral strength of the country is with us, justice is with us, nature is with us, and the law of God, which is higher than any human law, justifies our action."

This is a grave phenomenon not to be contemptuously dismissed as the folly of ill-digested knowledge or summarily judged and condemned, in a spirit of self-righteousness, as an additional proof of the innate depravity and ingratitude of the East. It undoubtedly represents a deep stirring of the waters amongst a people endowed with no mean gifts of head and heart and if it has thrown up much scum, it affords glimpses of nobler elements which time may purify and bring to the surface. Nor if our rule and our civilisation are to prevail, must we be unmindful of our own responsibility or forget that our presence and the influences we brought with us first stirred the waters.

The part played by Brahmanism in Indian unrest is far more conspicuous in some parts of India than in others, and

for reasons which are generally not far to seek. Wherever it has been most active, it connotes perhaps more than anything else the reactionary side of that unrest. Though there have been and still are many enlightened Brahmans who have cordially responded to the best influences of Western education, and have worked with admirable zeal and courage to bridge the gulf between Indian and European civilization, Brahmanism as a system represents the antipodes of all that British rule must stand for in India, and Brahmanism has from times immemorial dominated Hindu society—dominated it, according to the Hindu Nationalists, for its salvation. "If," writes one of them, "Mother India, though reduced to a mere skeleton by the oppression of alien rulers during hundreds of years, still preserves her vitality, it is because the Brahmans have never relaxed in their devotion to her. She has witnessed political and social revolutions. Famines and pestilence have shorn her of her splendour. But the Brahmins have stood by her through all the vicissitudes of fortune. It is they who raised her to the highest pinnacle of glory, and it is they whose ministrations still keep up the drooping spirits of her children."

The Brahmins are the sacerdotal caste of India. The are at the same time the proudest and the closest aristocracy that the world has ever seen, for they form not merely an aristocracy of birth in the strictest sense of the term, but one of divine origin. Of the Brahman it may be said as of no other privileged mortal except perhaps the Levite of the Old Testament : *Nascitur non fit.* No king, however, powerful, can make or unmake a Brahmin, no genius, however transcendent, no services however conspicnous, no virtues, however pre-eminent can avail to raise a Hindu from a lower caste to the Brahman's estate. In early times the caste laws must have been less rigid, for otherwise there would only by Aryan Brahmans, whereas in the South of India there are many Brahmans of obviously Dravidian stock. But to-day not even the Brahmans themselves can raise to their own equal one who is not born of their caste, though by the exercise of the castely authority they can in specific cases outcaste a fellow-Brahman who has offended against the immutable laws of caste, and, except for minor

transgressions which allow of atonement and reinstatement, when once outcasted he and his descendants cease for ever to be Brahmans. The Brahmans might be at a loss to make good their claim that they date back to the remote ages of the Vedas. But a good deal more than two thousand years have passed since they constituted themselves the only authorized intermediaries between mankind and the gods. In them became vested the monopoly of the ancient language in which all religious rites are performed, and with a monopoly of the knowledge of Sanskrit they retained a monopoly of learning long after Sanskrit itself had become a dead language. Like the priests who wielded a Latin pen in the Middle Ages in Europe, they sat as advisers and conscience keepers in the councils of every Hindu ruler. To the present day they alone can expound the Hindu scriptures, they alone can approach the gods in their temples, they alone can minister to the spiritual needs of such of the lower castes as are credited with sufficient human dignity to be in any way worthy of their ministrations.

In the course of ages differences and distinctions have gradually grown up amongst them, and they have split up into innumerable sects and sub-castes. As they multiplied from generation to generation an increasing proportion were compelled to supplement the advocations originally sacred to their caste by other and lowlier means of livelihood. There are today over 14 million Brahmans in India, and a very large majority of them have been compelled to adopt agricultural, military, and mercantile pursuits which, as we know from the Code of Manu, were already regarded as, in certain circumstances, legitimate or excusable for a Brahman even in the days of that ancient law-giver. In regard to all other castes, however, the Brahman, humble as his worldly *status* may be, retains an undisputed pre eminence which he never forgets or allows to be forgotten, though it may only be a pale reflection of the prestige and authority of his more exalted caste-men—a prestige and authority, be it added, which have often been justified by individual achievements. How far the influence of Brahmanism as a system has been socially a good or an evil

influence I am not concerned to discuss, but, however antagonistic it may be at the present moment to the influence of Western civilization, it would be unfair to deny that it has shown itself and still shows itself capable of producing a very high type both of intellect and of character. Nor could it otherwise have survived as it has the vicissitudes of centuries.

Neither the triumph of Buddhism, which lasted for nearly 500 years, nor successive waves of Mahomedan conquest availed to destroy the power of Brahmanism, nor has it been broken by British supremacy. Inflexibly as he dominates a social system in all essentials more rigid than any other, the Brahman has not only recognized the need of a certain plasticity in its construction which allows for constant expansion, but he has himself shown unfailing adaptability in all non-essentials to varying circumstances. To the requirements of their new Western masters the Brahmans adapted themselves from the first with admirable suppleness, and when a Western system of education was introduced into India in the first half of the last century, they were quicker than any other class to realize how it could be used to fortify their own position. The main original object of the introduction of Western education into India was the training of a sufficient number of young Indians to fill the subordinate posts in the public offices with English-speaking natives. The Brahmans responded freely to the call, and they soon acquired almost the same monopoly of the new Western learning as had they enjoyed of Hindu lore through the centuries. With the development of the great administrative services, with the substitution of English for the vernacular tongues as the only official language, with the remodelling of judicial administration and procedure on British lines, with the growth of the liberal professions and of the Press, their influence constantly found new fields of activity, whilst through the old traditional channels it continued to permeate those strata of Hindu society with which the West had established little or no contact.

Nevertheless the spread of Western ideas and habits was bound to loosen to some extent the Brahmans' hold upon Hindu society, for that hold is chiefly rooted in the immemorial

sanctity of custom, which new habits and methods imported from the West necessarily tended to undermine. Scrupulous—and, according to many earnest Englishmen, over-scrupulous—as we were to respect religious beliefs and prejudices, the influence of Western civilization could not fail to dish directly or indirectly with many of the ordinances of Hindu orthodoxy. In non-essentials Brahmanism soon found it expedient to relax the rigour of caste obligations, as for instance to meet the hard case of young Hindus who could not travel across the "black water" to Europe for their studies without breaking caste, or indeed travel even in their own country in railways and river steamers without incurring the pollution of bodily contact with the "untouchable" castes. Penances were at first imposed which had gradually to be lightened until they came to be merely nominal. Graver issues were raised when such ancient customs as infant marriage and the degradation of child widows were challenged. The ferment of new ideas was spreading amongst the Brahmans themselves. Some had openly discarded their ancestral faith, and many more were moved to search their own scriptures for some interpretation of the law less inconsistent with Western standards. It seemed at one moment as if, under the inspiration of men like Ranade in the Deccan and Tagore in Bengal, Brahmanism itself was about to take the lead in purging Hinduism of its most baneful superstitions and bringing it into line with the philosophy and ethics of the West. But the liberal movement failed to prevail against the forces of popular superstition and orthodox bigotry, combined with the bitterness too frequently resulting from the failure of Western education to recure material success or even an adequate livelihood for those who had departed from the old ways. Though there have been and still are many admirable exceptions, Brahmanism remained the stronghold of reaction against the Western invasion. Of recent years, educated Brahmans have figured prominently in the social and religious revival of Hinduism, and they have figured no less prominently, whether in the ranks of the extremists or amongst the moderate and advanced politicians, in the political movement which has accompanied that revival.

In the great charter of 1858 Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to amin'ster the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting your material convenience and advanc —schemes unsurpassed in their magnitude and their boldness— bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving No man among my subjects has been favoured, molested, or disquieted, by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilization. It has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come; and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

Unwilling that this historic anniversary should pass without some signal mark of Royal clemency and grace, I have directed th t, as was ordered on the memorable occasion of the Coronation Durbar in 1903, the sentences of persons whom our courts have duly punished for offences against the law, should be remitted, or in various degrees reduced; and it is my wish that such wrong-doers may remain mindful of this act of mercy, and may conduct themselves without offence henceforth.

Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and

intend the progress hence forward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The political satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient, if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs.

I recognize the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops, and at the New Year I have ordered that opportunity should be taken to show in substantial form this my high appreciation of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service.

The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me, ever since my visit in 1875, the interests of India, its Princes and Peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land, and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line, only represent, and they do most truly represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom.

May divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual goodwill that are needed, for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time.

INDEX

S

T

V

W

Y